

CARTER PLAYS IT
SOLO ON THE HORN - SEE PAGE 331

NATIONAL REVIEW

GAY RIGHTS & CONSERVATIVE POLITICS

A Symposium

JERE REAL

M. J. SOBRAN JR.

DETENTE JAZZ:

THE "Free Europe"
T M SMTH020E - -01 7806 - 3 30 -
MR E ROY SMITH
20 BELLE AIR RD
COLORADO SPGS CO 80906

merica needs financially strong
electric utilities planning for the
future. For over 51 years, the Irby
Construction Company has been
operating as a merit shop. The
company has built distribution
systems, substations, and
transmission lines now located
in 29 states and abroad. Our
experience and advanced con-
struction techniques can help your
company save construction money for
stockholders and consumers.

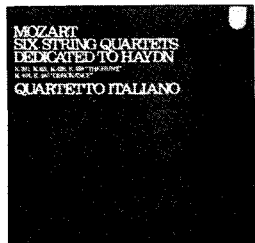
Irby Construction Company **Over Line Contractors** **Jackson, Mississippi**

For further information,
contact W. C. Brewer, Irby Construction Co.,
100 State St., Jackson, Mississippi 39205.
601-969-1811

Equal opportunity employer.

Choose Any Set

(3 or 4 Records) **\$7.98**



63. MOZART Six String Quartets to Haydn (3 LPs)
Quartetto Italiano



64. BACH Six Sonatas and Partitas For Solo Violin (3 LPs)
Nathan Milstein



62. BRAHMS Four Symphonies (4 LPs)
Claudio Abbado: Vienna Philharmonic, Berlin Philharmonic, Dresden State and London Symphony Orchestras



65. LISZT Complete Hungarian Rhapsodies, Opera Paraphrases (4 LPs)
Michele Campanella at the piano

No obligation to buy any future offerings.

This remarkable \$7.98 offer is brought to you by The International Preview Society—a highly selective record program that does not obligate you to buy at any time. These multi-record sets—and many, many more superb albums—will continue to be offered in an exclusive Preview magazine every eight weeks (only seven times a year). Each issue highlights a Featured Selection . . . plus an impressive variety of alternate selections. All at dramatically low prices. For example, you pay only \$16.99 for a 3-record set in our regular offerings. Only \$21.49 for a 4- or 5-record set. Both well below the suggested retail prices!

The Society's *Bonus Plan* will save you even more. For every album you keep, you can purchase an outstanding Bonus Selection album at a savings of over 50%!

If you'd like to preview the Featured Selection, you need do nothing. We'll send it automatically. But if you'd prefer an alternate selection, or none at all, just mail back the Preview Notification card—enclosed with the magazine—by the specified date. You'll have plenty of advance notice.

Audition Any Album At Home For Ten Days . . . Free.

At no cost or obligation, you are invited to audition any one of these multi-record albums . . . as well as any future offerings . . . at home for ten days. Only then do you decide whether or not to buy.

As Many As Four Records For Less Than The Price Of One.

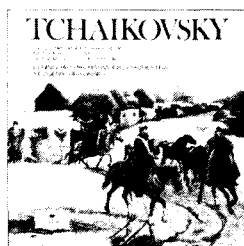
You may choose any one of these multi-record sets for just \$7.98 plus a small postage/handling charge. (Sales tax added for New York residents.) Remember, each set contains either three or four records. That's a savings of as much as \$27.94 . . . up to 78% off the suggested list price!

Send no money. We want you to judge for yourself before you decide to buy. If you are not delighted after ten days, return the set.

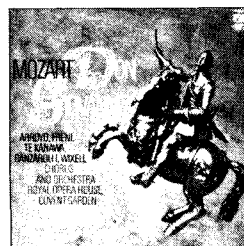
These are superior, silent-surfaced recordings by Deutsche Grammophon and Philips. They come in a handsome hinged storage case with an informative, illustrated brochure.

Every recording offered by the Society must meet the rigid standards of the distinguished Carnegie Hall Selection Committee—headed by Julius Bloom, Executive Director of Carnegie Hall. Only albums of the most exceptional musical interest, artistic excellence and technical quality are offered.

So do take advantage of this marvelous value and mail in the coupon today. You'll also be reserving the privilege of previewing other great international releases . . . which you may add to your collection at impressive savings.



60. TCHAIKOVSKY Symphonies 4, 5 and 6 (4 LPs)
Yevgeny Mravinsky: Leningrad Philharmonic
Sleeping Beauty & Swan Lake
Herbert von Karajan: Berlin Philharmonic



66. MOZART Don Giovanni (4 LPs)
Arroyo, Freni, Te Kanawa, Ganzarolli, Wixell, Colin Davis: Chorus and Orchestra of the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden



67. BEETHOVEN The Middle Quartets, Op. 59 Nos. 1, 2 and 3, Op. 74 No. 10 and Op. 95 No. 11 (3 LPs)
Quartetto Italiano

Free Home Audition Request

The International Preview Society

175 Community Drive, Great Neck, N.Y. 11025

YES! Please send me, for my free audition, the multi-record set I have indicated by the number below. I may return it after ten days and owe nothing . . . or keep it and pay only \$7.98 plus a small postage/handling charge (sales tax added for New York residents). This is up to \$27.94 off the suggested retail price. I will also receive, every eight weeks, free preview privileges of the finest classical recordings. I may cancel this arrangement at any time.

Print album number you have selected here:

Name

Address

Apt. No.

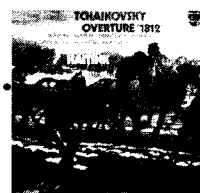
City

State

Zip

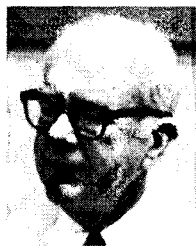
Offer limited to the connecting 48 states. Offer expires June 30, 1978. Limit: one membership per household. Only new members eligible. NOTE: All applications are subject to review, and we reserve the right to reject any application.

79129



FREE BONUS ALBUM

Return coupon within 10 days for valuable free gift — TCHAIKOVSKY'S 1812 Overture. Bernard Haitink: Concertgebouw Orchestra, Amsterdam.



BURNHAM
Page 331



BROOKHISER
Page 332



REAL & SOBRAN
Page 342



WILLIAMSON
Page 350



REHYANSKY
Page 356

ARTICLES & COLUMNS

- 331 The Time of the Fox**
Suddenly, everybody's worried about the Horn. But there are cogent reasons for not leaping in on Somalia's side.

James Burnham

- 332 Stilling the Heady Voices of Freedom**
Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty began with a crusading enthusiasm for the relative virtues of free over slave systems. Unfortunately, the free flow of information is proving too free—not only for the Communists, but for our own liberals. RFE and RL are being jammed from both sides.

Richard Brookhiser

- 339 Marston and Sir Mordred**
Pennsylvania's David Marston is the first Republican hero of the post-Watergate era. Now he's running for governor. Where will it all end?

Sheldon M. Smith

- 342 Gay Rights & Conservative Politics**
I. MINORITY REPORT: MAD ABOUT THE BOYS
Conservatives, says the author, have been fighting phantoms and reinforcing outmoded prejudices in the matter of homosexuality, when they should have been standing up for freedom.

Jere Real

II. CAPITAL M
The real issue, rejoins an *NR* editor, is what "gay rights" actually means. It refers to much more than just the privacy of the bedroom, and has less to do with freedom than with privilege.

M. J. Sobran Jr.

- 348 Push-Button Unionism?**
Labor "reform" v. reform for workers.

M. Stanton Evans

- 349 Life after Death**
A number of scientists have been examining the empirical evidence for immortality. Professionally, they are out of their competence. Personally, they may find themselves out of their depth.

Malachi B. Martin

BOOKS ARTS & MANNERS.

- 350 The Great American Arts Debate**
Are we to be "populist" or "elitist" in subsidizing the arts? Do you have to ask? Culture has become the latest and by no means least of federal pork-barrel projects, and the NEA and the NEH, once Washington's modest little salutes to beauty and learning, have become the twin pyramids of the Potomac.

Chilton Williamson Jr.

- 356 A Mortal S.I.W.**
Michael Herr's *Dispatches* recalls Vietnam with occasional compassion, bursts of fun and wit, and a sentimental voyeurism. It should have been terrific.

Joseph A. Rehyansky

- 357 Again That Shroud**
"... What we have here is a kind of photograph of Christ in the tomb at the moment of Resurrection." How one skeptic was convinced.

Jeffrey Hart

- 358 A Man in the Subway**
Reflections of a bad Samaritan.

D. Keith Mano

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| 310 Letters | 340 NR Cartoons |
| 316 For the Record | 360 Dark Horses |
| 320 The Week | 364 On the Right |
| 366 Trans-O-Gram | |

Cover design by James W. O'Bryan



NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly, except for one issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 50 Emmett St., Bristol, Conn. Second-class postage paid at Bristol, Conn. © National Review, Inc., 1978. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editors, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc., to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10016. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile.

RATES: \$34.00 a year (\$19.00 for the 48-page issues, and \$15.00 for 8-page issues published on the alternate weeks). Add \$2.00 for Canada, \$4.00 for other foreign subscriptions, per year. The editors cannot be responsible for un-

solicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better a stamped, self-addressed envelope, is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the view of the editors.

Best Sellers. And Better.

207 **The Hammond World Atlas**
(Pub price \$12)

299 **Daniel Martin**, John Fowles (Pub price \$12.95)

282 **Clearing The Air**
Daniel Schorr, Photos & cartoons (Pub price \$11.95)

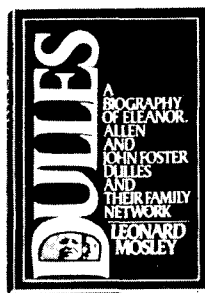
590 **The Dragons Of Eden**: Speculations on the Evolution of Human Intelligence, Carl Sagan (Pub price \$8.95)

250 **A Dual Autobiography**, Will and Ariel Durant (Pub price \$12.95)

575 **Conflict And Crisis**
The Presidency of Harry S. Truman, 1915-1918, Robert J. Donovan (Pub price \$12.95)

249 **Mastering The Art Of French Cooking**, (Vol. II) Julia Child and Simone Beck, Illustrated (Pub price \$15)

419 **Six Men**, Alistair Cooke (Pub price \$8.95)



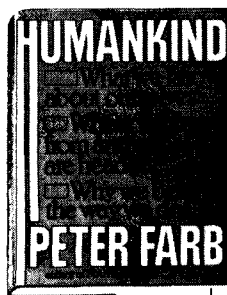
425 Pub price \$12.95

372 **Anna Karenina**, Leo Tolstoy (Pub price \$14.95)

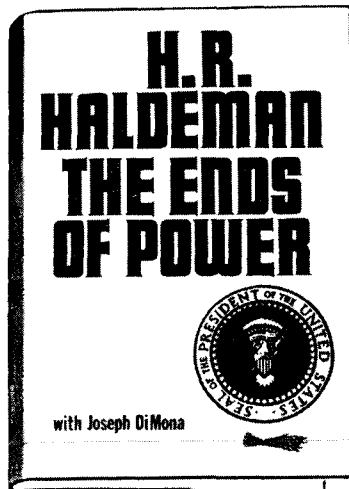
582 **The Complete Book Of Running**, James F. Fitts, Illus. (Pub price \$10)

542 **The Only Investment Guide You'll Ever Need**
Andrew Tobias (Pub price \$5.95)

378 **The Path Between The Seas**: The Creation of the Panama Canal 1870-1914, David McCullough, Photos (Pub price \$14.95)

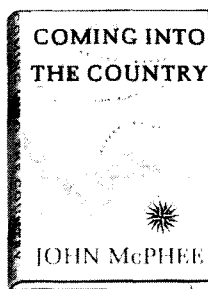


545 Pub price \$15.95



351 Pub price \$12.95

359 **Beyond The Male Myth**: What Women Want to Know About Men's Sexuality, A Nationwide Survey, Anthony Pietropinto, M.D. and Jacqueline Simenauer (Pub price \$12.50)



444 Pub price \$10.95

261 **Death Of An Expert Witness**, P. D. James (Pub price \$8.95)

463 **Song Of Solomon**
Toni Morrison (Pub price \$8.95)

505 **The Honourable Schoolboy**, John le Carré (Pub price \$10.95)

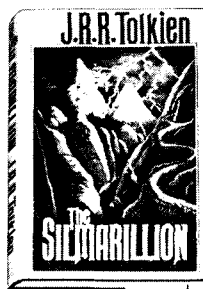
522 **Adlai Stevenson And The World**: The Life of Adlai E. Stevenson, Vol. II, John Bartlow Martin, Photos (Pub price \$15)

519 **A Captive Of Time**
Olga Ivinskaya, Translated by Max Hayward (Pub price \$12.50)

319 **The Age Of Uncertainty**, John Kenneth Galbraith, Illus. (Pub price \$17.95)

392 **The Poems Of Dylan Thomas**, Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Daniel Jones (Pub price \$7.50)

537 **Psychobabble**: Fast Talk and Quick Cure in the Era of Feeling, R. D. Rosen (Pub price \$8.95)



301 Pub price \$10.95

686 **Abba Eban**: An Autobiography, Abba Eban (Pub price \$15)

Timely, important, informative books like *The Ends of Power* are always available from the best book club—Book-of-the-Month Club. At last, the man who was closest to Richard M. Nixon has written a Watergate book that is an historical document. Halde- man's own fascinating story can be included as one of your four choices when you join the Club.

Bookstore Quality at Book Club Savings. You conveniently shop at home at considerable savings. *Example*: if you chose four books for \$1, and then bought six books and two Book-Dividends, you could save an average of \$65 (as much as \$100)—including postage and handling. And these are true savings because every book is exactly like the one sold in good bookstores—the same size, paper, type and binding. You *never* receive cheap book club editions altered in size and with inferior paper and bindings.

Book-Dividends. When you remain a Club member after the trial period, every book you buy earns Book-Dividend® credits. These entitle you to choose from a wide variety of significant books at hard-to-believe savings of at least 70%.

Additional Club Benefits. A distinguished collection of specially produced record albums, beautiful gifts and games, children's books and a Club charge account with no service or interest charges—all made available *exclusively* to members.

BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB®

Any 4
for
\$1

You simply agree to buy four books within a year

Book-of-the-Month Club, Inc., Camp Hill, Pennsylvania 17012 8-A123-3-1

Please enroll me as a member of Book-of-the-Month Club and send the 4 books I've listed below. Bill me \$1, plus shipping charges. I agree to buy 4 more books during the coming year.

Indicate by number the 4 books you want

--	--	--	--

Mr.
Mrs.
Miss

(Please print plainly)

Address

City

State Zip

Some of the Benefits of Membership.

You receive the *Book-of-the-Month Club News*®, a literary magazine, 15 times a year (about every 3½ weeks). Each issue reviews a *Main Selection* plus scores of Alternates.

If you want the *Main Selection* do nothing. It will be shipped to you

automatically. If you want one or more Alternate books—or no book at all—indicate your decision on the reply form always enclosed and return it by the date specified.

Return Privilege. If the *News* is delayed and you receive the *Main*

Selection without having had 10 days to notify us, you may return it at our expense.

Cancellations. Your membership is cancelable at any time after you have bought 4 additional books. Simply notify Book-of-the-Month Club.

AMERICA'S BOOKSTORE Since 1926, 330 million books in 15 million homes.

William F. Buckley Jr. *Editor*

William A. Rusher *Publisher*

James P. McFadden *Associate Publisher*

Editors

James Burnham / Jeffrey Hart
M. J. Sobran Jr.

Priscilla L. Buckley *Managing Editor*
Linda Bridges *Assistant Managing Editor*
Frances Bronson *Executive Secretary*

Contributing Editors

Ruth Berenson
John R. Coyne Jr. (*Washington*)
W. H. von Dreele
M. Stanton Evans
Ernest van den Haag
Norman B. Hannah / Nika Hazelton
James Jackson Kilpatrick
Kevin Lynch (*Articles*)
D. Keith Mano / Malachi B. Martin
Alan Reynolds
William F. Rickenbacker
Francis Russell / John Simon
Chilton Williamson Jr.
(*Books, Arts, & Manners*)

Associates

Richard Brookhiser
Paul Gigot / Carol B. Leary
Jane Buckley Smith
Jeanne Wacker Sobran
Timothy J. Wheeler

Robin Wu *Research Director*
James W. O'Bryan *Art Director*
Anna Lieber *Production Editor*
John K. Syze *Circulation Manager*

Advertising Director

Robert F. Sennott Jr.

Assistant Publisher

Edward A. Capano

Contributors

Aram Bakshian Jr.
David Brudnoy / John Chamberlain
Jack Chatfield / Miles Copeland
Neal Freeman / Victor Gold
John Greenway / Henry Hazlitt
John Kiley / Nicholas King
Suzanne La Follette / Mary Martinez
Forrest McDonald
Vincent Miller / Ferdinand Mount
George Nash / Gerhart Niemeyer
Daniel Oliver
Morrie Ryskind / William S. Schlamm
Ralph de Toledano
S. L. Varnado
Charles Wallen Jr.
George F. Will / Peter P. Witoski
Edwin M. Yoder Jr.

Foreign Contributors

Anthony Lejeune *London*
Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn *Munich*
Taki Theodoracopoulos *Athens*
Donald Coxé *Toronto*
Nena Ossa *Santiago*
Robert S. Strother *Cuernavaca*



Letters

B-1 & Co.

Maurice Robertson says: "[The press] has scarcely mentioned the B-1 except in editorials that are high in emotional content but low in the sort of detailed discussion that such an issue deserves" ["The Rehabilitation of the B-1," March 3]. He is absolutely correct. Aerospace engineers may have understood the points at issue in the B-1 debate (although, as Robertson also says, there may well be important information that has been withheld even from them), but the layman has not—and since in a democracy what the layman thinks about public issues determines what the government will feel politically safe in deciding, this is a crucial point. Robertson himself, though, has explained the issue so that even the most non-technical-minded (e.g., me) can understand it.

However, there is one important point he does not touch upon. This is not an original thought on my part, I hasten to add. If memory serves, I picked it up from a James Burnham column of a couple of years ago. And that point is that, yes, we should have the best military equipment we can, since our enemy is not stinting on his. But all the military equipment in the world will not do us any good if we do not have the will to use it, and a coherent strategy for deploying it. And if we do have the will, we can be more choosy about how many weapons systems to develop, since we do not have to rely on numbers of weapons alone as a deterrent. *Pittsburgh, Pa.* CHRISTOPHER TURTON

Brozen v. Sakharov

Professor Yale Brozen's "A Year of Jimmy Carter at Home" [Feb. 3] was brilliant—splendid. But one statement, a part of one sentence, did startle me. This was his approval of Carter's veto of the breeder reactor program. Why?

This is in flat contradiction to an earlier article in *NR* [Sept. 16] by Professor Bernard Cohen, which impressed me greatly.

This is in flat contradiction to the recent position paper of the NAACP—which is interested in an America strong enough to provide jobs for black people.

This is in flat contradiction to the position of the hard-headed Zionist Organization of America—which is interested in an America strong enough to keep its promises to Israel.

This is in flat contradiction—most importantly—to the heroic Russian dissident nuclear physicist Andrei Sakharov. His December 19 statement in *Der Spiegel* (excerpts from it appeared in the Febru-

ary *Access to Energy*) is a solemn and important warning which should be heard, and made available. It ought to be *news*. To Sakharov, nuclear development is "one of the necessary prerequisites for retaining economic and political independence . . ."

Now what does Brozen know that Sakharov doesn't know? I have profound respect for Brozen, but on this point I think he is off base.

New York, N.Y. HENRY R. FULLER

In the Melting Pot

Re "Ethnic Politics," by William Petersen [Jan. 20]: Actually one cannot escape the melting pot. Immigrants begin changing from the very moment they set foot on the ship at the docks of their native land. They cannot help but adapt to the new life no matter how tenaciously they adhere to the old customs and manners.

Many GIs discovered this during and immediately after WW II. Having lived in ethnic neighborhoods in the States and having been bred according to the manners and customs of the "old country," they thought, when they shipped to the lands of their parents, that they would find similar manners and customs and modes of thought. It was a great surprise to find that the "old country" was considerably different from what their upbringing had led them to expect.

Philadelphia, Pa. FRED DiDOMENICO

The Carter Non-System

Alan Reynolds ["Carter Economics," Feb. 17] gave us a hilarious (but tragic) account of Carter's first year in office. I received the distinct impression, as I read the article, that Carter has no sense of economics and that what is happening is the work of the bureaucracies. The unbelievable momentum of the entrenched "civil servants" is responsible for the ever increasing budgets and budget deficits, and for the evaporating tax cuts.

Carter has demonstrated that he is not qualified to be President. He has failed to engender the confidence in his leadership that is necessary if his policies are to be carried out. (Thank goodness!)

WILLIAM H. McDILL
San Luis Obispo, Calif.

The Northern Vector

Admiring James Burnham's catalogue of "vectors" in the Middle East as I do [Dec. 23], I trust he will not object if I suggest one additional vector which has had little attention devoted to it. I refer to the role of Greece, Turkey, and Iran as the "northern tier" (an unfashionable but valid con-

**Brilliant strategist?
Hesitant and overcautious?
Pig-headed tactician?**

Follow MacArthur through the Pacific to reconquer the Philippines...fight alongside him at Inchon and the Yalu River to hold Korea! Then you decide whether he blundered or triumphed!

See why Patton, Hitler, and MacArthur refuse to "fade away"—and experience all of the thrills, terror and thundering adventure of war with an outstanding collection of military books in The Military Book Club. Join today and take any 4 books for only 98¢ plus shipping and handling.

How the club

After 100 years of service to the nation, The Military Book Club is now open to all. Join today and take any 4 books for only 98¢ plus shipping and handling.

How the club works

After your membership's accepted, you'll receive your four books for 98¢ plus shipping and handling. If you are not satisfied, return them within 10 days, cancel your membership, and you owe nothing.

Once you've purchased just four books, your first two years of membership are yours for only 98¢ plus shipping and handling.

About every four weeks (14 times a year) you'll receive free of the Club's magazine describing the coming selections and alternates, which save you up to 30% off publisher's editions prices.

If you want the selection do nothing, it will be shipped to you automatically. If you want an alternate, or no book at all, indicate your preference on the order form and return it by the date specified. That date allows you 10 days to decide. If you receive an unwanted selection because you had less than 10 days, return it at our expense. There is a shipping and handling charge on all books shipped.

The Military Book Club offers its own complete, hardbound editions sometimes altered in size to fit presses and save members even more.

Military Book Club
Dept. PR-387, Garden City, N.Y. 11530
I accept my application for
the Military Book Club
when I receive my first book.

Dept. PR-387, Garden City, N.Y. 11530

Please accept my application for membership in the Military Book Club and send me the 4 books whose numbers I have printed in the boxes below. Bill me only 98¢ plus shipping and handling. I understand that I need buy only 4 more books at regular low Club prices during the first two years of my membership to complete my purchase commitment. (NOTE: AIR- WAR counts as two selections.)

No-risk guarantee: If I am not completely satisfied, I can return the books for a full refund.

No-risk guarantee: If not delighted, I may return the 4 books within 10 days, my membership will be canceled and I will owe nothing.

Note: If you select AIRWAR, write "AIRWAR" in 2 boxes, then check the box for "No-risk guarantee."

Mr. _____
Mrs. _____
Miss _____

City _____
State _____

State _____ Zip _____

Members accepted in USA and Canada only.
Canadian members will be serviced from Toronto.
Offer slightly different in Canada.

24-M95

**Any 4
only 98¢
with membership**

More books to choose from

2055. The Crucial Years: 1939-1941. Hanson W. Baldwin. Comprehensive, exciting account of war's opening chapters. Illus., maps. Pub. ed. \$20.00

2147. The United States Marines: 1775-1975. Bng. Gen. Edwin H. Simmons USMC (Ret.). Hard-bound history of tough, proud Corps. Illus. Pub. ed. \$8.95

2486. The Battle for North Africa 1940-43. W.G.F. Jackson, Rommel, Montgomery. Patton in history's greatest desert duel! Illus. Pub. ed. \$15.00

4879. The Raid. Adam F. Schlemmer. US Army's incredible raid on Son Tay POW camp near Hanoi. Pub. ed. \$10.95

6601. Stonewall in The Valley. Robert G. Tanner. Jackson's masterful campaign in vivid detail. Illus. Pub. ed. \$10.00

6924. Hitler's War. David Irving. Myth-shattering history based on documents and interviews never before available. 2 vols. count as 2! books. Pub. ed. \$17.50

Note: Prices shown above are publisher's edition prices.

Photograph courtesy of MacArthur Memorial Library

7005. The Lonely Ships: The Life and Death of the U.S. Asiatic Fleet.
Edwin P. Hoyt. Rousing history of famed fleet, from 1850 to WW II. Maps.
Pub. ed. \$12.50

7007. Rebels Under Sail.
William M. Fowler, Jr. Career of first US navy draft for war independence.
Pub. ed. \$15.00

8623. I-Boat Captain.
Zenji Orita with J.D. Harrington. Eye-witness story of Japan's near-winning sub operations in WW II. Illus.

8631. Decision Over Schweinfurt.
Thomas M. Coffey. The US 8th Air Force's 8-17's prove daylight bombing works. Illus.
Pub. ed. \$9.95

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
 ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cept) of the Free World in the Middle East. This tier has functioned effectively as an insulator against actual land contact between the USSR and the states involved directly in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

One has only to reflect on what kind of role the USSR might have played over the past thirty years if it had had a direct land frontier with Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, or Egypt. At the risk of seeming immodest, I quote from my article in the May 13 issue of *NR*, "Five Worlds of De-tente": "Separated from the USSR by Turkey and the Mediterranean, the Egyptians were able to expel the Russians peaceably when they chose to do so, unlike the Poles, Czechs, and Hungarians, with whom the USSR has direct interior land links." Imagine the opportunities that would have been presented by the civil disorders in Lebanon were it not for the Turkish insulator.

The operational importance of this factor is obscured by the shadow of the Turkish-Greek confrontation in Cyprus. This problem needs to be dealt with in the Arab-Israeli context. The outcry against the Shah of Iran and U.S. military sales to that country also must be judged in the context of the insulating role played by Iran between the USSR and the Arab world.

Bethesda, Md. NORMAN B. HANNAH

Repentance unto Life

Malachi B. Martin's "The Church and Israel" [Dec. 9] somewhat astonished me. First, I'm amazed that representatives of the Roman Catholic Church would acquiesce in the idea that the Jews should not be converted to Christianity.

But what surprises me more is that nowhere in his refutation of this viewpoint did Mr. Martin refer to the Scriptures. The Gospels devastate the proposition that Christians should not seek to convert Jews: Christ was a Jew, His apostles were Jews, His public ministry was among the Jews. In the early years of the church, in fact, there was some debate as to whether Christianity should be preached to the Gentiles! (Read Acts 11.)

Jesus came as a personal savior—not as a racial or national savior. His invitation to salvation is withheld from no one—certainly not from any one of His chosen people.

Bellevue, Wash. JOSEPH SCHEMBRIE

The Good News

After years of reading *NR* articles indicating the erosion of the United States' power in comparison to the Soviet Union's and feeling progressively more discouraged by the trend, I had come to the point that it was almost with trepidation that I opened each new issue of *NR*, wondering what

bad news might be in its pages. But in the February 17 issue ["For the Record"], lo and behold, some good news! The Soviets are going to start smoking American cigarettes without a Surgeon General's warning on the package. I think we've finally got 'em!

Wichita, Kan. DOUGLAS L. BENDELL

Church Mischief

Thank you for publishing Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn's "Strange Alliance" [Nov. 11], which recited the horrors of African guerrilla warfare. He said, "And these horrors are financed by the World Council of Churches . . . which explains that its contributions to the guerrillas are for medical supplies. But since the money is paid over in cash, who can tell whether it is pills and bandages or bullets and knives that are purchased?"

A general letter, last year, from the World Council of Churches, Department of Communication, Geneva, signed by Jürgen Hilke, states that, "in spite of the fact that the money which the WCC provides from the special fund to combat racism is used by its recipients only for humanitarian activities, the WCC recognizes that some of these recipients are organizations which do use military action in pursuit of the liberation of their country."

Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, at the time of his death on February 3, 1969, was the head of the Marxist guerrilla organization Frelimo. I have the statement of the Reverend H. T. Maclin, a Methodist missionary, that he visited Dr. Mondlane in his home at Dar es Salaam, Tanzania about six weeks prior to Dr. Mondlane's death. Mr. Maclin said he had on tape the following statement by Dr. Mondlane: "We have received money from the World Council of Churches for our benevolent work here in Tanzania and in the northern part of Mozambique. There's going to be some controversy about this in the churches in America. They're going to believe we're using these funds to buy guns, to arm ourselves in order to fight the Portuguese."

Dr. Mondlane must have had a good cost accounting system to segregate expenses for, say, land-rovers that were used to lay mines, set booby traps, and haul snipers when they weren't being sent around to distribute the medicines purchased with cash from Geneva.

The Methodist church—which heavily supports the WCC—endorses Frelimo as the answer to a Christian's prayer. Its leaders can hardly wait to see the blessings received by Mozambique spread to Rhodesia and South Africa.

Morehead City, N.C. S. A. CHALK JR.

Another Ism

When I first moved into the decadently socialistic East, I was astounded that it

numbers and

QUIK-ALIGN
LETTERING SYSTEM

3
K-E-B

Unique Quik-Align®
die-cut vinyl numbers and letters allow on-the-spot sign making. Available in kits or 10-packs. Durable indoors or out. Write for free sample.

the
Identification
people
BRADY

IDENTIFICATION SYSTEMS DIVISION
2225 Camden Rd., P.O. Box 2131, Milwaukee, WI 53201 (414) 385-9100
© 1972 W. H. Brady Co.

3 FOR 89¢

VALUES TO \$69.40

EXTRA FREE GIFT

in addition to your 3 for 89¢—when you join the Conservative Book Club and agree to buy 4 books at Club discount prices over the next 18 months

CONSERVATIVE VOTES, LIBERAL VICTORIES

by Patrick J. Buchanan

Straight talk from the brilliant columnist: why conservatives should be winning, but aren't. \$7.95



364 DOUBLE YOUR MONEY EVERY 3 YEARS—Gerald Appel. Giant encyclopedia of financial plans for every investment need. \$25.00

426 TRADING SILVER—PROFITABLY—D. Turner & S. H. Blinn. 13 computer-tested methods—but none for the fainthearted. \$11.95

438 FROM UNDER THE RUBBLE—Alexander Solzhenitsyn. The greatest writer of our time joins six other dissidents to score Red tyranny—and Western liberalism. \$8.95

377 HOW YOU CAN BEAT THE KILLER DISEASES—Harold W. Harper, M.D. & Michael L. Culbert. New nutritional approaches that can help you live better—and longer. \$8.95

452 LIBERAL PARENTS, RADICAL CHILDREN—Midge Decter. "Right on target... feisty, fighting book... splendid stimulus... a critically needed self-examination."—*Wall St. Journal*. \$7.95

422 THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE—C. George Singer. Outspoken history of the National Council of Churches. \$11.95

36 JFK: THE MAN & THE MYTH—Victor Lasky. Classic political biography, and all the best on Kennedy and the Clan. \$12.95

432 HOW THE EXPERTS BUY AND SELL GOLD BULLION, GOLD STOCKS & GOLD COINS—James E. Sinclair & Harry D. Schultz. How to profit in up and down markets. \$8.95

296 THE FAILURE OF THE "NEW ECONOMICS"—Henry Hazlitt. Definitive refutation of Keynes. \$11.95

361 THE POWER OF THE POSITIVE WOMAN—Phyllis Schlafly. Inspiring alternative to Women's Lib: the Positive Woman. \$8.95

356 THE CAPITALIST READER. 14 giants (Mises, Hayek, Friedman, Rand, Boehm-Bawerk, etc.) show why capitalism works best. \$9.95

173 DID YOU EVER SEE A DREAM WALKING? Wm. F. Buckley collects 23 brilliant spokesmen for conservatism. Over 600 pages. \$8.50

514 MY ANSWER TO THE MOSCOW ATHEISTS—Rev. Richard Wurmbrand. Famed anti-Communist minister proves the existence of God. \$7.95

LITURGICAL REVOLUTION—Michael Davies

530 Vol. 1: Cranmer's Godly Order. How the Catholic Mass became the Lord's Supper in 16th-century England. \$7.95

532 Vol. 2: Pope John's Council. How liberals worked their will. \$9.95

516 TEXTBOOKS ON TRIAL—J. C. Hesley. The rot fed to our children, and what you can do. \$6.95

540 A CRITIQUE OF INTERVENTIONISM—Ludwig von Mises. First time in English. \$8.95

518 INSIDE THE KGB—Alekssei Myagkov. Exciting account by highest-ranking KGB counter-espionage ever to defect. \$7.95

306 HOW TO TUTOR—S. L. Blumenfeld. This guide works. 117 reading lessons, 73 writing lessons, 67 arithmetic lessons. \$9.95

367 BUILDERS OF THE AMERICAN DREAM—J. K. Fitzpatrick. Warm portraits of 13 heroes: Washington, Eddie Rickenbacker, Lee, Lincoln, MacArthur, Lindbergh, etc. \$9.95

528 THE CRITICS OF KEYNESIAN ECONOMICS. Henry Hazlitt assembles rebuttals by 22 masters: Hayek, Mises, Rueff, Roepke, Hutt, etc. \$9.95

71 THE UNMAKING OF A MAYOR—Wm. F. Buckley. Sparkling rundown of 1965 campaign. \$9.95

369 THE ASSAULT ON THE SEXES—Jim & Andrea Fordham. Witty traditional look at the Unisex Society. \$9.95

548 THE 1978 INSIDER'S BANKING AND CREDIT ALMANAC—Mark Skousen. Make extra thousands on your bank accounts. \$12.95

343 HOME OF THE BRAVE—John A. Carroll & Odie B. Faulk. A wonderfully readable history of America for patriots. Richly illustrated. Over 400 pages. \$12.95

349 PLAYING THE PRICE CONTROLS GAME—Mark Skousen. How to outwit, even profit from, the coming controls—legally. \$9.95

494 THE HOLY BIBLE—Family Reading Edition. Rich in valuable features: 67 color paintings by the great Tissot; 16 pages of daily Bible readings; Family Record Section; 106-page Concordance and Cyclopedia of Bible Facts; gold page edges and stamping; over 1,200 pages; large type; 7¼ x 9½ luxury size; weighs 3 lbs., 15 oz.; quick guidance on what Bible teaches—over 300 subjects; much more! King James Version. \$16.50

478 LENIN IN ZURICH—Alexander Solzhenitsyn. "Masterly fusion of history, biography and the novelist's art."—*Publishers Weekly*. "A fine literary achievement."—*Wall St. Journal*. \$8.95

180 MCCARTHY & HIS ENEMIES—Wm. F. Buckley & L. Brent Bozell. Balanced, objective, best book on the subject. 444 pages. \$9.95

337 THE LAST KENNEDY—Robert Sherrill. Teddy, Chappaquiddick and the big cover-up. "Devastating."—*Library Journal*. "A small, sardonic masterpiece."—*N.Y. Times*. \$8.95

472 THE COMING BREAKPOINT—Barry Goldwater. "I do think the nation has less than ten years..."—then Barry shows why. \$8.95

488 JESUS CHRIST BEFORE HE BECAME A SUPERSTAR—J. K. Fitzpatrick. Brilliant young writer refutes the updaters—with the words of Jesus Himself. \$7.95

496 IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF JESUS—W. E. Pax (Institute of Bible Research, Jerusalem). Beautiful word-and-picture journey. 122 gorgeous photographs—68 in breathtaking full color. Oversized 8½ x 10. Printed throughout on rich coated stock. Informative text throws new light on the Gospel narratives. \$19.95

462 THE COMING DEFLATION: ITS DANGERS—AND OPPORTUNITIES—C. V. Myers. The famed financial maverick delivers a sobering message. \$8.95

470 THE COLLAPSE OF DEMOCRACY—Robert Moss. "An intellectual and political event of the first importance."—*National Review*. \$9.95

358 CONCEIVED IN LIBERTY: Vol. 1—Murray N. Rothbard. Readable libertarian history of colonial America. \$15.00

458 CONCEIVED IN LIBERTY: Vol. 2—Murray N. Rothbard. The American colonies, 1710-1763. "Even better [than the first excellent volume]."—*Modern Age*. \$12.95

476 CONCEIVED IN LIBERTY: Vol. 3—Murray N. Rothbard. The colonies just before Independence, 1760-75. \$12.95

15 SUICIDE OF THE WEST—James Burnham. What makes liberals that way? This classic gives the best answers yet. \$7.95

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB

165 Huguenot Street, New Rochelle, N.Y. 10801

Please send me FREE *Conservative Votes, Liberal Victories* plus the 3 books whose numbers I have entered below:

Bill me for only 89¢ for all 4, plus shipping, and enter my membership in the Conservative Book Club—the only book club expressly for political conservatives. I agree to buy 4 more books in the next 18 months from among more than 150 to be offered—books on politics, investing, religion, social issues, Communism, economics, conservative ideas, history, etc. Membership entitles me to a free subscription to the Club Bulletin, which brims with book bargains and offers me opportunities to get in touch with my fellow members. I am eligible to buy Club books at discounts that range from 20% to 50% plus shipping. If I want a Selection, I do nothing; it will come automatically about a month later. If I don't want a Selection, or if I prefer one of the several Alternates, I simply inform you on the handy form always provided. I'll be offered a new Selection every 24 days—15 times a year. If due to late mail delivery I get a Selection without having had 10 days to decide if I want it, I may return it at Club expense.

NR 634

Name _____

Address _____

City/State _____

Zip _____



the
identification
people

BRADY

W. H. BRADY CO.

IDENTIFICATION SYSTEMS DIVISION

2223 Camden Rd., P.O. Box 2131, Milwaukee, WI 53201 (414) 332-8100
16 © 1977, W. H. Brady Co.

A NEW VOICE TO BE HEARD

Reid Buckley

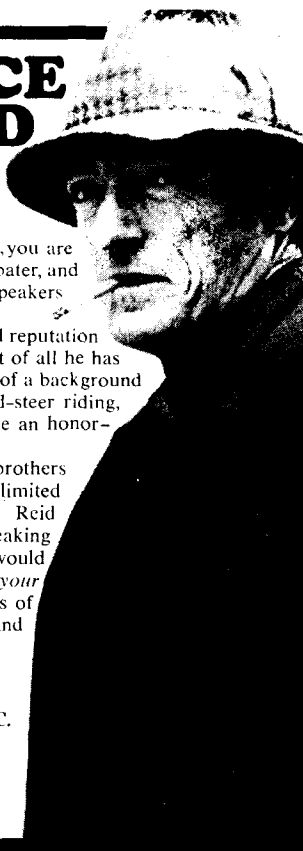
If you've never heard Reid Buckley speak before, you are in for a real treat. This noted author, lecturer, debater, and world traveler is one of the most exciting public speakers you're ever likely to encounter.

He's an unabashed conservative with a well-earned reputation for taking on all comers in a variety of formats. Best of all he has a refreshingly original viewpoint, the result, in part, of a background that includes such extraordinary avocations as wild-steer riding, climbing the Matterhorn, fighting bulls, being made an honorary Green Beret, and much more.

If you are a conservative you've often listened to brothers Bill and Jim with pleasure (and profit). Now, for a limited time, you have the opportunity to listen to what Reid Buckley has to add. He will be available for speaking engagements from now through late Spring. If you would like Mr. Buckley to be the featured speaker at your meeting just write and tell us the name and address of your organization and the date of your meeting, and we'll take it from there.

Write today to:

Catherine Babcock, INC.
544 Southside Rd.
Virginia Beach, Va. 23451
PHONE: (804) 428-3301



was not possible for a person without much money to check into a good county hospital for surgery, rehabilitation, or what have you unless he had previously signed on with the welfare people or some federal or state giveaway program. Back home in the rock-bottom conservative state of Indiana, the county hospital provided the closest thing to no-questions-asked socialized medicine this country will probably ever see.

Therefore, it was with great interest that I read James Burnham's column on the socialized resorts, otherwise called State Parks, in our neighboring state to the south, Kentucky. My reaction was, "Of course!" The reason why is very simple; I was amazed that neither of your correspondents ["Letters," Dec. 9] came up with it.

The people of Kentucky, through their own locally elected government, have simply expressed their pride in Kentucky by using the powers of the state to provide a decent State Park System. Sometimes the people really do take the action that the socialist ideologues call for, but that does not necessarily indicate that we are observing socialism in action. Rather, we are watching a more basic and fundamental "ism" at work, and it is that mysterious one called "nationalism."

Washington, D.C.

P. T. BOHALL

God in the Dock

Mr. Snell's statement that Christ was "incorrect" in considering the "last days" as imminent ["Letters," Nov. 11] of necessity brings with it a number of conclusions, the gravity of which compels me to write my first letter to the editor. His statement involves: 1) a denial of the deity of Christ; 2) a denial of the total reliability of the Scriptures; 3) a claim on his part to possess the very attribute of omniscience which he denies to God.

Could it be possible, just possible, that God is right, and Mr. Snell simply does not understand what Christ meant? How much more appropriate it would be for us to approach the Scriptures with humility, recognizing that our task is not to decide whether or not God's words are true, but rather to try to understand them.

Louisville, Ky.

VAN MCCLELLAN

What's Good for DFL . . .

I am glad that *NR* has not overlooked democracy in action, Minnesota style ["For the Record," Feb. 17].

As a Nebraskan attending college in Minnesota, I was somewhat confused by the method employed here to select government officials. My friends were bewildered by my confusion: wasn't it obvious to me that what is good for the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party is good for Minnesota?

Northfield, Minn.

DAVID S. HALSTED

DOES ANYONE OUT THERE WANT TO SAVE MONEY ON HISTORY BOOKS?

Consider how much you're spending to read the books you enjoy. Then, consider the alternative.

The History Book Club.

Last year, our members saved an average of 33% off publishers' prices on a variety of books covering the entire history of man.

And to introduce you to the Club, we have an offer that can save you even more.

Shop this page. We'll send you any three of the books listed here (worth up to \$67.50) for just 99¢. Plus a fourth at the low member's price.

You need take only four more books in the next twelve months. After which you'll save even more on bonus books you may choose from our entire list. In your first year, your total savings, including this introductory offer, can be more than 50%.

You can count on getting the best new titles in the same kind of editions you'd find in bookstores. All at savings of \$3, \$4, \$5 (and more), off bookstore prices.

As a member, every four weeks you'll get our Club magazine, the *Review*, listing up to 200 titles. Plus a dated reply card.

If you want the Editors' Choice, sit tight and you'll get it automatically. To order another book, or none, you have at least 10 days to make your choice and return the card. And if you ever receive an unwanted book because of late mail, we'll pay return postage.

(First price is publisher's list.
Boldface shows member's price.)

673. **Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Empire 1767-1821.** By Robert V. Remini. \$15.00/\$9.95
675. **Supplying War: Logistics From Wallenstein to Patton.** By Martin Levi van Creveld. \$16.95/\$10.95
681. **Joan of Arc.** By Edward A. Lucie-Smith. A unique portrait of the most mysterious figure of medieval Europe. \$10.95/\$7.95
677. **Reform and Reformation: England 1509-1558.** By G.R. Elton. \$15.00/\$9.95
682. **The Toltecs: Until the Fall of Tula.** By Nigel Davies. The story of a mysterious people who came to power in Central Mexico about 900 A.D. \$14.95/\$9.90
596. **Modern European Thought: Continuity and Change in Ideas, 1600-1950.** By Franklin L. Baumer. \$14.95/\$9.90
585. **The Samurai: A Military History.** By S.R. Turnbull. Japan's fierce warriors and their code of honor. \$17.95/\$11.95
577. **Hugo Black And The Judicial Revolution.** By Gerald T. Dunne. \$12.50/\$8.50



589. **The Battle of the Atlantic.** By J. Costello and T. Hughes. German U-boats vs. the Allies during World War II. \$14.95/\$9.90

161. **A History of American Law.** By Lawrence M. Friedman. \$17.50/\$10.95
464. **The Twelve Caesars.** By Michael Grant. From Julius in 49 B.C. through Domitian in 96 A.D. \$12.50/\$8.75
517. **The Universe: Its Beginning and End.** By Lloyd Motz. \$14.95/\$9.95
520. **Plagues and Peoples.** By W.H. McNeill. \$10.00/\$7.75
606. **The Mycenaean World.** By John Chadwick. A vivid reconstruction of pre-classical Greece. \$17.95/\$11.95
524. **The Long Year A.D. 69.** By K. Wellesley. A momentous year in the Roman Empire. \$16.50/\$10.50
545. **Shakespeare's English Kings: History, Chronicle, and Drama.** By Peter Saccio. \$13.95/\$8.95
347. **The Army of the Caesars.** By M. Grant. \$15.00/\$9.95
163. **Medieval History.** By Norman F. Cantor. \$11.95/\$8.95
594. **The Zapotecs: Princes, Priests and Peasants.** By J.W. Whitecotton. One of the earliest fully developed civilizations in America. \$14.95/\$9.90
667. **The Devil: Perceptions of Evil From Antiquity To Primitive Christianity.** By J.B. Russell. \$15.00/\$9.95
669. **Jefferson Davis.** By Clement Eaton. \$12.50/\$8.50
550. **The Early Greeks.** By R.J. Hopper. \$25.00/\$13.00
558. **Out of Chaos.** By Louis J. Halle. A grand sweep of history—of man and civilization. \$20.00/\$12.95
478. **China's Imperial Past: An Introduction to Chinese History and Culture.** By Charles O. Hucker. \$17.50/\$11.95
508. **The History of the German Resistance, 1933-45.** By Peter Hoffmann. \$19.95/\$12.95
569. **A Genius For War: The German Army and General Staff, 1807-1945.** By Col. T.N. Dupuy. \$14.95/\$9.90
157. **A History of the Vikings.** By Gwyn Jones. \$15.00/\$9.95
274. **The Age of Arthur.** By John Morris. British history from 350-650 A.D. \$17.50/\$11.95
346. **The World of the Huns: Studies in Their History and Culture.** By O.F. Muenchen-Helfen. \$20.00/\$11.50
414. **Russia Under the Old Regime.** By Richard Pipes. 1000 years of Russian growth. \$17.50/\$10.95
539. **The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire: From the First Century A.D. to the Third.** By Edward N. Luttwak. \$12.95/\$8.75

546. **The Celts.** By Gerhard Herm. \$12.50/\$8.50
590. **T.E. Lawrence: A New Biography.** By Desmond Stewart. \$15.00/\$9.95
549. **The Japanese.** By Edwin O. Reischauer. The background, culture and politics of modern Japan. \$15.00/\$9.95
324. **Alexander the Great.** By Robin Lane Fox. \$15.00/\$9.95
625. **The Black Family in Slavery & Freedom, 1750-1925.** By Herbert G. Gutman. \$15.95/\$10.75
518. **Reaching Judgment at Nuremberg.** By Bradley F. Smith. \$15.00/\$9.95
418. **The War Against The Jews, 1933-1945.** By Lucy S. Dawidowicz. \$15.00/\$9.95
556. **A New History of India.** By S. Wolpert. The shaping of India from 2500 B.C. to Indira Gandhi. \$15.95/\$12.50
547. **Gold and Iron: Bismarck, Bleichroder and the Building of the German Empire.** By Fritz Stern. \$17.95/\$11.95
377. **France in the Age of Louis XIII and Richelieu.** By Victor L. Tappé. \$17.50/\$12.50
614. **The Crucible of Europe: The Ninth and Tenth Centuries in European History.** By G. Barraclough. The transition from the dark age to the medieval world. \$14.95/\$9.90
637. **The Age of Capital, 1848-1875.** By E.J. Hobsbawm. The rise of capitalism and bourgeois culture. \$17.50/\$12.50
104. **The Indian Heritage of America.** By Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. \$10.00/\$7.50
431. **The Phoenicians.** By Gerhard Herm. \$8.95/\$7.50
658. **Stonewall In The Valley: Jackson's Shenandoah Valley Campaign, Spring 1862.** By R. Tanner. \$10.00/\$7.95
- A506. **A History of the Jewish People.** Ed. by H. H. Ben-Sasson. (Counts as two selections.) \$40.00/\$19.95
- A153. **The French Revolution: From its Origins to 1793 (Vol. I) & From 1793 to 1799 (Vol. II).** By Georges Lefebvre. (Counts as two selections.) \$30.00/\$14.95

Any three books for 99¢

The History Book Club
Stamford, Conn. 06904

Enroll me as a trial member and send the books whose numbers I enter below. Bill those on the left at 99 cents for all three and the fourth at member's low price. NV-685

--	--	--	--

I may return the books in three weeks at your expense and owe nothing. Otherwise, I'll take four more within a year. After that, I may resign any time. (A small shipping charge is added to each order.)

Print name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

In Canada, mail to The History Book Club, 16 Overlea Blvd., Toronto M4H 1A6, Ontario.

The History Book Club

FOR THE RECORD

■ The **Equal Rights Amendment** has just a year to go—38 states must have ratified it by March 1979 or it will be dead—and 1978 has treated it unkindly. In the first two months of the year, ERA has lost out in **Alabama, South Carolina, Georgia, and Virginia**. (In the state of **Mississippi** it has never even been brought up.) As of now only 35 states have okayed it. . . . Carter aide **Midge Costanza** admitted last week that “things look very bad for ERA” and she blames it all on the right wing. . . . **Sam Brown**, the former antiwar activist who now heads **ACTION** (Vista and the Peace Corps), was slapped down when he tried to move meetings of his organization from states that have not passed ERA. “The position [on these transfers] which I expressed was in error,” said Brown after Sens. **Herman Talmadge** and **Sam Nunn** of Georgia wrote Attorney General **Griffin Bell** to protest Brown’s action. . . . The state of **Missouri**, meanwhile, which is on the receiving end of the ERA boycott, has taken **NOW** (National Organization for Women) to court, accusing it of anti-trust violations. . . . But (ta-tara-ta) the Army has announced that it plans to use women as **honor guards** in future White House ceremonies.

■ What’s with the liberal Republicans? Sen. **Clifford Case** (ACU—zero) has taken out after **Andy Young**, blasting him for his statements about Rhodesia. (Could it be that Case fears the challenge in the GOP primary from former **Reagan** aide and former **NR** staffer **Jeff Bell**?) . . . In Massachusetts, Sen. **Ed Brooke** (ACU—zero), is talking conservative: on Panama, it’s still wait-and-see; on **SALT**, he’s suspicious of the Russkies; on Taiwan, we should maintain our ties. (Could it be that he fears the primary challenge by conservative talk show host **Avi Nelson** and is trying



McLachlan, *Punch* Rothco
“I hear the dissident **Yuri Orlov** could get seven years in prison—God knows what he’ll get if he’s really guilty.”

to rally Massachusetts GOP conservatives around him?) . . . In New York, **John Lindsay**, late of Republican liberal ranks, reportedly will soon have a midtown campaign office to boost him for a senatorial race in 1980 against his old buddy **Jacob Javits** (ACU—zero). (Can we expect Javits to rejoin the Committee of One Million?)

■ How’s this for putting things in perspective: People are moving out of **René Levesque’s** Quebec at a faster rate than out of **John Vorster’s** South Africa: 3,400 are leaving Quebec every month as against 2,300 leaving South Africa. . . . Paradox in **France**: although only 43 per cent of the voters in France in a late January poll said they wanted the Left to win the March 12/19 elections, 51 per cent said they intended to vote Left. (That last figure is now down to 50 per cent.) . . . The **Dutch**, who had given **Castro** \$26 million in aid a year ago, now say they

are reviewing future programs in view of Cuba’s involvement in Africa. . . . **Canada** last week finally established diplomatic ties with Angola, making the **U.S.** and **Red China** the only two major countries still not recognizing the **Agostinho Neto** regime. . . . And the sinking dollar has one silver lining: it is inconveniencing the **World Council of Churches**, which announces it may have to move its headquarters out of Geneva, where the cost of living is now sky-high.

■ Good news on the Right: **Milton Friedman** has signed up to do a ten-part series for public television on economics and personal freedom, for distribution in the fall of 1979 (Reason’s answer to **John Kenneth Galbraith**). . . . **William A. Rusher**, **NR** publisher, will be back on *The Advocates*, March 30, debating **Daniel Schorr** on the merits of national health insurance. . . . After nearly a decade out of print, Gateway is bringing out a soft-cover edition of **Whittaker Chambers’ Witness**, particularly well timed in view of the April publication of **Allen Weinstein’s Perjury: The Hiss-Chambers Case**. (Weinstein is the Smith College professor who used the Freedom of Information act to dig out government files on the Hiss affair, to prove Hiss’s innocence. He is now convinced Hiss was guilty.) . . . The first dissident novel to come out of Red China, *The Coldest Winter*, will be published by **Doubleday** in the spring. . . . And **Eldridge Cleaver’s** story of his conversion, *Soul on Fire*, is in its final pre-publication stages.

■ Good Heavens Above: A *Des Moines Register* poll on Heaven and Hell found that only one **Republican** in 35 expects to end up in Hell, whereas one **Democrat** in nine assumes he will.

Doughnut-watching•The virtue of dissatisfaction•The egalitarian thrust

When it comes to evaluating the performance of the American economic system, it's hard to get some people to look at the substance. They get so hung up on shortcomings that they fail to discern accomplishments. Instead of comprehending the doughnut, they become fixated on the hole.

As a result, they come out almost totally negative and conclude that we ought to scrap the whole system and rebuild from scratch. In our view, this ignores the extraordinary benefits that our system—perhaps best called “democratic capitalism”—has produced for the ordinary person over the years. It also ignores the question of what to substitute for the most dynamic, most egalitarian, and most productive system in history, despite all its obvious flaws.

We don't feel any theological attachment to the American economic system. Certainly it can be improved. And this is exactly the point: The system has improved throughout the past 200 years, no matter how unevenly, is still improving, and seems likely to keep on improving if given a chance.

The best way to gauge any system's improvement is, of course, to monitor its performance.

If you look only at the hole, you'll find that both unemployment and inflation in the U.S. are still far higher than any of us would like.

But if you look at the doughnut over the 10 years through 1977—a decade that encompassed the Vietnam war, the oil embargo, and other afflictions—you'll find this: The number of people employed in this country increased well over twice as fast as our population did.

And, as Ben Wattenberg points out in his book *The Real America*, family income in the U.S., after adjusting for inflation, has doubled in a generation, and the steady upward movement of median family income in our country has created a “massive majority middle class... something that has never happened before anywhere...”

This is not to say any of us should be complacent. On the contrary, healthy and informed dissatisfaction with the status quo has underlain

much of our country's progress. But this constant progress itself has created problems: By performing economic miracles, the system has created enormous expectations and a growing desire for instant gratification of those expectations.

The key to this dilemma is partly one of timing: Our system is indeed able to work wonders when it is allowed to operate within rational, realistic timetables for change and with minimal government intervention. The problem often lies in expecting too much too soon, and this in turn often leads to well-meaning but misguided government intervention, which does more harm than good.

Most of the critics of our system agree that it is wondrously productive, though they are reluctant to comprehend that material wealth is indispensable if a society is to support such essentials as health care, education, and other social services. They fault the system on “moral” or other grounds—including, sometimes, esthetics. And they focus disproportionately on the short-term malfunctions that punctuate the system's long-term performance.

At least part of the carping at our economic system is sheer intellectual faddism: it's easier to criticize than to learn the basics of economics, which can require one to overcome deeply rooted biases. Many elitists seem to feel that in the long run our country will be better off if the decisions are made by a select few rather than by the masses of people. Since our economic system is essentially egalitarian in its thrust, elitists often appear to fear and distrust it.

Being egalitarian, the system naturally develops a constituency that is large and loyal, even if not as vocal as those bent on remaking society in their own image. If left unchecked, this tendency of people to think for themselves will almost inevitably strengthen both our economic and political systems.

This is a prospect we find it easy to live with. We believe that over any reasonable period of time the American people, no matter how much they criticize their economic system, will devote themselves more to appreciating the doughnut than to denouncing the hole in it.

CITIVIEWS

CITIVIEWS is distributed quarterly to Citicorp investors. It contains viewpoints on timely public issues. We believe the following may be of interest to you...

The Public Interest

"It was a terrible week. First we found our Automobile Club infested with pedestrians...then we discovered six experts who'd infiltrated the Laymen's Association...and Friday we caught three people in the Public Interest Forum secretly pursuing their own special interests..."

No one is known to have actually reported such a week, but it should come as no surprise if someone eventually does. Certainly, it is the sort of thing against which many of the voices raised "in defense of the public interest" seem to be warning us.

Probably no phrase in the English language affords more ambiguity or opportunities for demagoguery than "the public interest." Aside from the obvious question of who has the right to speak "for" the public, there is the still larger problem of just whose interest is being protected, and from whom.

What, exactly, is The Public? Who belongs to it, or, conversely, who does not? If The Public includes everyone, then the individual who volunteers to "defend the public interest" is really offering to protect us from ourselves. If The Public does not include everyone, then who has been excluded, and on what authority?

Or perhaps instead of one great Public we are referring to many smaller ones: as in the traveling public, the investing public, the theater-going public, or the Nielsen public. After all, people do form themselves into groups based on a community of interest, and those interests will sometimes conflict with one another. In that event, perhaps, the

public interest advocate fills the role of impartial arbiter, dispensing justice or at least wisdom from some neutral vantage point, free of the special interests that entangle everyone else. But sometimes that neutral territory is hard to locate, and its disinterested inhabitants hard to identify.

Anyone trying to cross a busy intersection on foot, for example, knows that pedestrians and motorists sometimes have conflicting interests. So does the motorist trying to turn the corner. If there is a debate tonight in City Hall about altering the traffic lights for the greater convenience of one group or the other, whose side will you be on? And regardless of what you believe at the moment, how do we know you can be trusted? You might start out as a motorist, find a parking space on the way downtown, and arrive as a pedestrian. Yet, does it follow that we can find a fair solution to the problem only with the help of someone with no commitment to either side; that is to say, somebody who neither drives nor walks?

The purpose of this line of reasoning is not to denigrate anyone's efforts to speak disinterestedly on behalf of the general welfare, but merely to invite attention to certain aspects of the *pro bono publico* dialogue that are too often overlooked.

Consider, for example, the question of consumer advocacy. While there may be some uncertainty about just who or what constitutes a public, there is no doubt whatever that we are all consumers. Since no meeting can be held in which everyone present is not equally a

consumer, who then does the "consumer representative" actually represent? Clearly, it must be either (1) a specific group of people who have in some manner selected a delegate to convey *their* convictions to the meeting; or (2) the speaker's own point of view.

In the latter case, the "consumer advocate" (at a stockholders' meeting, for instance) should really be saying something like this:

"I realize that everyone here is as much a consumer as I am. But you have other interests that may be more important to you than your interests as consumers. Since I am free of such conflicts, or able to deal with them more objectively, I am here to serve as the authoritative spokesman on that subject."

This is not, of course, the way such representations are usually made.

If, on the other hand, the advocate appears as the representative of a formal, organized group, the problem of objectivity becomes even more troublesome. Any organized group of people constitutes a special interest—by definition. Moreover, the longer an organization exists, the more specialized its interests become. It is unnecessary to demonstrate this fact: it is immediately apparent to anyone with even a passing acquaintance with any group, even if only a bridge club. Nor is objectivity—or the lack of it—linked solely to the profit motive, as any philanthropist can testify who has tried to honor competing claims by representatives of equally worthwhile charities.

Over the past decade, there has come into existence something often referred to as "the public interest community." It consists of men and women with a common desire to emphasize certain values and social perspectives—

e.g., a clean environment—that affect all of us alike, and to act on behalf of those values whenever and wherever they perceive the rest of us to be neglecting them. It does nothing to detract from anyone's efforts to suggest that even the noblest cause can at length become a vested interest, or that it may attract at least a few who are perhaps more interested in doing well than in doing good.

Every American is entitled by law and the Constitution to fair representation by a president and a vice-president, two senators and a congressman, not to mention a governor, a state legislator, and probably a mayor. The vigor of our two-party system and the frequency with which we return our officials to private life testify that these legal representatives sometimes leave many of us less than satisfied. Anyone stepping forward to supplement their efforts by reminding us that something that ought to be done is not being done, or vice versa, should always be welcome in the national meeting hall.

It is only prudent, however, to review occasionally what used to be called in the Old West their *bona fides*. And it seems only fair to recall, from time to time, Dr. Johnson's admonition that "a common prejudice should not be found in one whose trade it is to rectify error."

CITIBANK

A subsidiary of Citicorp

399 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10043

Citibank, N.A. Member FDIC

THE WEEK

■ Jordan must have the same press agent as Nixon.

■ Ham: "Any person who, liking attention or acclaim, makes himself ridiculous or obnoxious."—*American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*.

■ No good news yet for Republicans, but a pair of interesting forecasts. In the new magazine *Public Opinion*, Scammon and Wattenberg analyze Jimmy Carter's 1976 support and note several facts. One is that Carter narrowly carried the South, the most conservative part of the nation, largely because of regional loyalties—much as John Kennedy carried Catholic areas in 1960. And, they go on, once Catholics had seen the point made that a Catholic could be elected, they quickly ceased leaning to Catholic candidates: an augury that Southern support for Carter will erode? As for the possibility that his liberal-loaded Administration can make up Southern losses elsewhere in the country, "there is no liberal non-South. . . . Remember: It was Ford, not Carter, who carried the nation outside of the Old Confederacy, in both popular and electoral votes." In the same issue, Austin Ranney surveys off-year elections and finds that the President's party nearly always slips, and that Carter lost more popularity in his first nine months in office than any of his five predecessors. Professor Ranney doesn't say it, but we will: if the Republican Party can't make something out of all that, it belongs in the Smithsonian.

■ You have to get up early in the morning to best a bureaucrat defending his privileges, and possibly even the night before to take on the experienced international bureaucrat. The question before the house is UN salaries, which are astronomical—and untaxed. At the UN, for instance, there are now 75 officials making more than \$75,000 a year (Kurt Waldheim makes \$110,000 plus perks). It came about thus: the UN inherited from the League of Nations the notion that to attract high caliber people those people must be paid at the same level as the highest paid civil servants in the world, which has meant at the level of U.S. civil servants. At the lower and middle levels UN and U.S. salaries have remained roughly on a par, but UN salaries at the upper levels are now "way out of line," according to a U.S. official. Not so, replies a UN financial expert. UN salaries only *seem* high to Americans, he says, because U.S. salaries have not kept pace. And this, he contends, is because congressional pressure has forced the United States Government to put an "arbitrary, unfair" ceiling on the

salaries of high-ranking U.S. officials. What may be called for here is a bit of congressional pressure on the U.S. Government to cut down its contributions to the UN budget. Or would that, too, be arbitrary and unfair?

■ The sun never sets on the Cuban empire: north, south, east, and west, Cuba has, within the last three years, carved out footholds all around Africa. Most of these are quite modest; according to figures released last November, Cuba has from a few dozen to a few hundred soldiers, technicians, and military advisors in each of the following countries: Uganda, Zambia, Tanzania, Sierra Leone, Mozambique, Malagasy Republic, Libya, Guinea Bissau, Equatorial Guinea, the Congo (Brazzaville), the Cape Verde islands, Benin (formerly Dahomey), and Algeria. But then, of course, there are their two large concentrations of troops. They now have 10,000 to 11,000 in Ethiopia (three months ago, the figure was around 700), in addition to the USSR's 1,500 advisors. Nor does the sudden increase of troops in Ethiopia mean that the number in Angola was cut. Cuban troops have indeed been transferred from Angola to Ethiopia, but they have been replaced just as quickly from the homeland. In fact, the numbers in Angola are now up: from about 20,000 soldiers and 3,000 "technicians" in November to about 23,000 soldiers and 5,000 technicians now. Cuban officials have been heard to boast that another 120,000 could be sent if needed.

■ War has arrived in South Africa, at least on the air waves. The United Nations recently voted, 140 to zero, to launch a radio propaganda offensive aimed at South Africa's blacks. Each day the UN Radio Service will tape a 15-minute program denouncing apartheid, and then make it available to various national broadcast groups—for example, Radio Mozambique, Radio Zambia, Radio Botswana, Radio Moscow, and the Voice of America. They will be short-to-medium-wave transmis-

They Just Funnin'

Hamilton Jordan's a caution;
Lance is a little bit loose.
Bell was a guy with a mote in his eye
When Marston was made to vamoose.

Lance has an Arab connection;
Jordan's a pyramid buff.
Bell hunkered down—or did he skip town?—
When Safire's sallies got rough.

Jordan is Jimmy's advisor;
Lance is behaving like kin.
Bell still denies those little white lies,
And, Oh! how the laughter rolls in!

W. H. VON DREELE

Register Now!

CPAC 78: A Blueprint for Action

Yes, a plan of action — for conservative victory in this year's crucial Congressional and state elections.

The thrust of CPAC78 is being geared to bring into focus the current issues that will help determine numerous election opportunities awaiting conservatives. Each speaker, each panelist will be honing in on the hows and whys of taking advantage of the existing favorable political climate to achieve success.

Again this year CPAC78 promises to surpass CPAC77

with, for starters, this impressive array of conservatives already confirmed. Pictured below are Gov. Ronald Reagan, Sen. Paul Laxalt, former Sen. Jim Buckley, Sen. Jesse Helms, Cong. Mickey Edwards, Sen. James McClure, Cong. Phil Crane, Phyllis Schlafly and Cong. John Ashbrook. Among other confirmed speakers are Congressmen Bob Bauman and Steve Symms — with more being added daily.

You won't want to miss this the best CPAC to date. Make your reservations today.



March 16, 17, 18, 19, 1978
Hyatt Regency Hotel
Washington, D.C.
featuring Ronald Reagan

CONFERENCE FEE of \$90 (\$75 if pre-registered by mail by March 1), includes 2 continental breakfasts, 2 evening banquets and admission to all panels, workshops and other conference sessions.

SPECIAL ROOM RATES — Headquarters: Hyatt Regency Hotel, Washington, D.C. Special hotel rates beginning at \$39 single, \$45 double, and suites beginning at \$110 are available now. As soon as your advance registration is received, we will mail hotel information, so you may make early arrangements and be sure of special Conference rates.

Sponsored by
The American Conservative Union
Young Americans for Freedom
In Cooperation with
Human Events and **National Review**



1978
Conservative
Political Action
Conference



TO REGISTER:

Make check payable and mail to:
CPAC78
c/o Young Americans for Freedom
Woodland Road, Sterling, Virginia 22170

Name _____

Address _____

City/State _____ Zip _____

Check one:

- ☐ \$75
☐ \$145 (couple)
☐ \$50 (student
under 25 — with ID
presented at door)

After March 1:

- ☐ \$90
☐ \$175 (couple)
☐ \$60 (student)

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

Just a bit less than a decade ago, in Des Moines, Spiro Agnew gave his speech on the responsibilities of the media. That speech, written by Patrick Buchanan, may not have been, as one commentator put it, "the greatest sustained polemic in the English language of the century." But many believe it came close, and there is little doubt that it significantly altered the way we think about the news and the way the people whose business is the news think about themselves. Back then, the question was one of political and ideological bias: there was, as Agnew pointed out, a distinct anti-conservative, anti-Republican, anti-Nixon tilt among the major news organizations, and that tilt no doubt continues to exist. But today, perhaps in part because of the national catharsis which was Watergate, the issues have become primarily social and cultural, and the questions about the news are less ideological and more concerned with the nature of the beast itself. And perhaps the most important of these questions is a very simple one: Should the news itself dominate the news?

Over the past decade, we have become accustomed to two basic types of coverage. On the one hand there are the real stories—the coal strike, say, the economy, Ethiopia. Then there are the stories about stories—the Haldeman book, for instance—in which the way the press does its job is the real center of interest. And it is this latter type that seems increasingly to dominate media attention—and therefore, since we have no choice, ours also.

Many of us probably were first struck by this trend during the Pentagon

Papers flap, when the *New York Times*, in defense of "the people's right to know," published documents stolen from government files. There was little newsworthy in the documents themselves, but the circumstances surrounding their filching raised questions of legality and journalistic ethics. The story, in other words, was the story, and the same became true for many of the biggest stories of this decade. Outside of the corruption of the principal himself, the single biggest story to come out of the Agnew case was the torrent of leaks to the press, which were routinely reprinted in the news sections of the papers that deplored them on their editorial pages. (Now that we know Elliot Richardson was one of Daniel Ellsberg's primary sources, the suspicion that he was also the primary leaker in the Agnew case is substantially strengthened.) The great remaining mystery of Watergate is the identity of Deep Throat, without whom Woodstein would have been impossible. But the coverup continues, for in such cases the press seems to feel we have no legitimate "right to know." Again, the story is the story, and the trend seems to be accelerating.

Everywhere you look, from *Soap* to Superbowl to ratings wars to Hamilton Jordan, the news is the news. There is David Frost making news by telling us how he interviewed Nixon. There is CBS making news because of its peculiar contractual arrangement with Leon Spinks, the fighter whom not even Las Vegas would touch before his startling upset of Muhammad Ali. There is ABC, paying Chuck Colson \$10,000 to comment on the Haldeman book. And there is the Haldeman book itself. Like most ghosted books, it is badly written and

throws little if any new light on Watergate. According to those who were there, Haldeman misidentifies Deep Throat. Nor does he tell us anything about Nixon that we didn't already know. But that is not the story. Instead, the story is how the *New York Times'* book-publishing division attempted to prevent anyone from seeing pre-publication copies and how the *Washington Post* made the *Times* look silly, suckering its sister publication, *Newsweek*, in the bargain. There were, of course, a number of delicious ironies involved, not the least of which was the Nixonian secretiveness of the *New York Times*, and its self-righteous reaction to what it called "a third-rate burglary." Says one former Nixon staffer: "They're accusing Nancy Collins of swiping the book. But we know better. It was really Daniel Ellsberg."

■ They loathe him in California, where he wants to break up their farms. In Iowa, his name sets off shouting matches. And in Texas, he became the first Secretary of Agriculture to be pelted with eggs. Nevertheless, Bob Bergland is spending 3,014 of our tax dollars for 15,000 color posters of himself, to be sent to his fans in the field.

■ Any connections here? Representative Bob Bauman questions the need for federal emergency funds to fill potholes in Guam and Puerto Rico. Other conservatives are up in arms over Carter's proposed \$11.4-billion jobs program. And in the meantime, the director of the President's Council on Wage and Price Stability tells Congress that "We are making absolutely no progress in reducing the rate of inflation." Wonder why? —CATO

sions, and therein lies a problem. Few blacks in South Africa own short-wave receivers. They use FM receivers, which sell for under \$10, and which usually tune in to the South African Broadcasting Corporation's ultra-high-frequency FM broadcasts. Total 1978 budget for the UN project: \$270,000, of which the U.S. provides 25 per cent.

■ The Helsinki agreement of 1975 was no great shakes. It did establish the idea that Moscow would submit to international review of its internal policies on human rights, but this crumb was purchased at the cruel price of guaranteeing the Soviet imperial boundaries in Eastern (*née* Central) Europe. Now, after 18 weeks, a conference of 35 nations, meeting in Belgrade, is winding

down with what seems, on the surface, to be little achievement. The Soviets have absolutely refused to budge one inch. But their refusal was necessarily public, obdurate, and official; and the non-Communist bloc, including many countries that are too easily tempted to play footsie with Moscow, have drawn together—huddled together—with a more vivid comprehension of Moscow's institutionalized Hell. Another straw to grasp: at Belgrade the Soviets agreed to meet in 1980 (in Madrid) to continue the international discussion of human rights. The idea of international concern for human rights is gradually taking hold, and it's a no-win situation for Moscow. For which, three cheers.

■ On a recent inspection tour, Leo Cherne of the In-

Back In Print

**One of
the great
books
of our
time!**



Witness is an American classic, one of the select few books that every literate conservative simply must have. If you have read it you know how true that is; if you haven't, here is a wonderful opportunity to get one of the great books of our time in a handsome new edition for just \$3.95 (see offer below).

About the book. . .

It's no overstatement to say that *Witness* is one of the greatest books of this century. Once you pick it up you will be hard put to lay it aside. In one sense, it's sheer spinetingling melodrama with all the elements of a superb mystery/spy thriller. Yet, it's all true, the unforgettable story of one man's lonely struggle that, in the end, becomes Everyman's struggle against tyranny and materialism (shades of Solzhenitsyn!). If you've ever wondered why so many intellectuals become Communists you'll find the answer here in this shocking account of the Communist Fifth Column in America by a man who was there, took part in it, and who names names.

As John P. Marquand wrote, "*Witness* is much more than a series of intrigues and trials. . . . No psychological novel can exceed it in interest. No study of conflicting characters under stress could go deeper with Chambers, or

be more puzzling than with Hiss. The book was not written as literature, but literature it is of a high order." Amen.

Unfortunately, *Witness* has been out of print for so long that a whole generation has grown up largely unaware of the treasure that awaits them in this remarkable book. But now it is once again available, complete and unabridged, in a new high quality softcover edition. This new edition sells for \$6.95 retail but you can get it for just \$3.95, almost half price, with NR's Special Book Offer. Just subscribe to *National Review* now for a full year at the current price of \$19 (or extend your present subscription, no matter when it's due to expire), add \$3.95 for the book, and we'll send a brand new copy of *Witness* posthaste. (Remember, we pay all postage and handling — another big savings for you.)

So, if you don't already have *Witness* in your home make sure you get a copy now (every member of your family will benefit from this one). If you do own a copy of *Witness*, you can still subscribe or renew (something we hope you'll be doing eventually anyway) and use the book as a gift where it will do the most good. In any event, act now. Fill out the handy card facing this page and send it to us today.

ternational Rescue Committee found that 100,000 Indo-chinese refugees were still living in miserable conditions in Southeast Asian camps and prisons. Cherne, who feels the United States has a special responsibility toward these victims of the war, is calling for the U.S. to admit more refugees and to speed their processing. He is also making an appeal—which would seem unnecessary in a civilized age—to all maritime nations “to let no ship pass people in danger of drowning, to close no ports to them, and to let no ship be penalized for bringing refugees to port.”

■ Hal Borland, the writer-naturalist who worked as a freelance contributor to the *New York Times*, died the other day, and the paper's editorial writers gave him a real send-off. Calling Borland “our correspondent in the universe,” the tribute continued: “There were snowflakes on his beat, and spring rain . . . but it wasn't nature he was covering.” The *Times* solemnly concluded: “As we reread him at his death last week, we understood better than ever why Hal Borland's reporting belonged on the editorial page. Although he never used the word, the man colored every fact with hope.” Well! We award the *Times* the Dr. Pangloss Award for 1978, and wish they had sent Mr. Borland to cover the fall of Saigon.

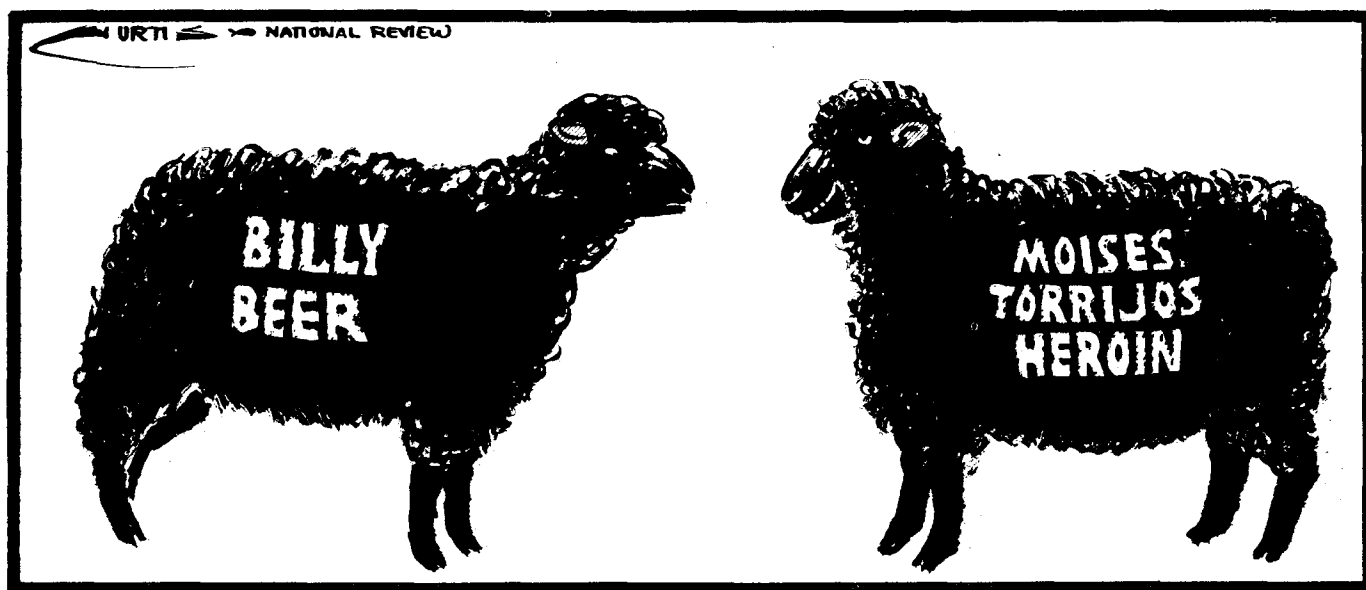
■ Since John T. Noonan Jr.'s “New Phase in the Battle” appeared in our last issue, two new developments have occurred on the abortion front: 1) Joseph Califano has issued regulations which substantially weaken the Hyde Amendment restrictions on abortion funding; and 2) the pro-abortion forces have proposed to change the Holman Rule in order to prevent anti-abortion amendments to appropriation bills. The former is probably an effort by the Carter Administration to placate the Senate. The second is an attempt to change the rules of the game, which have often benefited congressional liberals—

as in a 1973 rider to an appropriations bill expressing the liberals' position on Vietnam. This new effort to prevent the popular view on abortion funding from prevailing is reminiscent of the famous “gag resolutions” adopted by the House in the 1830s to prevent the Representatives from being troubled by the expression of anti-slavery sentiment. “It may be hoped and predicted,” Mr. Noonan writes, “that it will have the same fate.”

■ Richard Nixon's memoir will be published on May 15, a twelve-hundred-page tome going for \$19.95. But you can get a cloth-bound edition in a genuine box for \$50, and if you really want to go first class you can give \$250 plus a gallon of tears and get a leather-bound edition, with gilt lettering (until proven innocent), numbered and autographed by The Boss himself. How to know whether Himself really signed the book? The publisher will issue you a Certificate of Authenticity signed by Donald Duck. How to know that Donald Duck . . . ? Quack quack quack quack quack.

■ TV ratings being what they are, the Italians have devised a late night quiz show in which a shapely lady sheds clothing for each correct answer from viewers. The feminists object. However, back in these parts, Indiana State Senator Joan Gubbins has put on display, in the lobby of the Indiana capitol, an exhibit of triple-X-rated material she got at the Women's Year Conference in Houston, including graphic depiction of lesbianism, masturbation, and prostitution. The feminists object.

■ EVELYN WAUGH, WHERE ARE YOU WHEN WE NEED YOU, DEPT. “It started out as a typical drab United Nations reception. The hors d'oeuvres were chopped liver, the drinks Scotch and gin, and a tuxedoed crier announced guests to four anxious dignitaries. Then the host, Ieng Sary, deputy prime minister of Democratic



Kampuchea (Cambodia), began to circulate, and his enthusiasm seemed catching. . . . Illiteracy now plagues only 10 per cent of the population, he said. There is one clinic and one pharmacy for every hundred families. Dams and waterways are under construction. Malaria has practically been eradicated. . . . Peasants were now eating two pounds of rice each day. . . . 'And how is your country after the Liberation?' inquired a delegate from Burundi. 'Better, much better,' bubbled Ieng Sary. 'The bad image, it comes from bad information.'"
(*From a Washington Post report.*)

■ Last week Mr. Carter picked Mrs. Mondale for Honorary Head of the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities. Working on a budget of three or four hundred million dollars, Mrs. Mondale will supervise the preparation of a major study of the cultural policies of the United States, looking to the adoption of a coherent and orderly policy. Mrs. Mondale's credentials are as follows. And besides, she is a coherent and orderly lady. That ought to do the trick.

■ THE WILLS WATCH: In the course of assessing Muhammad Ali's place in history, Garry pauses to place an earlier heavyweight champ: "Joe Louis engaged America in a mood when even blacks looked better to us than Germans. We transcended (for a moment) one kind of racism in the name of another—just as we did with Jesse Owens. Our black can kill your kraut." Poor America—racist even for rooting against the Master Race.

■ X-Rep. Wayne Hays has announced that he will seek a seat in the Ohio House of Representatives. Liz Ray says she wishes him well, but then, she's out of work.

Behind the Cypriot Entebbe

Politics is an unforgiving discipline, and ordinarily the gentlest whiff of weakness, the tiniest clatter of bungling, is rewarded by a cold shoulder which may quickly escalate to a down-turned thumb. That President Sadat has largely escaped this fate in the wake of the disastrously clumsy Entebbe-style commando raid on the Cyprus airport is a measure of three things: a) worldwide admiration for Sadat's sensational negotiating attempts, b) equally wide recognition of the intolerable provocation which terrorists have given to the world in general and, in this case, to Sadat in particular, and c) more than a suspicion that the Cypriot authorities were less than forthrightly effective in dealing with the terrorists.

Not only did Palestinian terrorists enter Cyprus and murder Sadat's friend, *al-Ahram* editor Yussuf al-Sibai, who was attending an international conference in Nico-sia, but they were allowed to leave in a Cypriot plane

Rhodesia Did It

Almost as shocking as to see
A poem lovely as a tree
Was Clifford Case who got unstrung
While saying, "Nuts!" to Andrew Young.

W. H. VON DREELE

with Egyptian hostages. Spurned by Arab states fed up with terrorism, the terrorists returned to Cyprus and were apparently on the verge of being given passports for a flight to Athens when the Egyptian commando raid interrupted. But this is not all.

For a couple of years, Cyprus has been a major staging area for terrorist groups, including Palestinian ones such as "Black September." Cypriot ports are nodes for complex munitions routes: Soviet arms to Palestinians and to the IRA (via Libya); Libyan weapons to Palestinian and other terrorist groups; black-market arms from Western Europe to the Middle East. Intelligence indicates that there are in Cyprus about fifty mufti-clad Soviet military officers as well as thirty Cubans. Cypriot banks handle \$20 to \$30 million a month belonging to Palestinian and "rejectionist" groups and international arms dealers. Members of the Japanese Red Army, the Baader-Meinhof gang, the "Carlos" ring, and Dutch leftists have frequented Cyprus for high-level terrorist meetings.

Against this background there can be much sympathy for Sadat despite the bungling of the commando raid. On top of everything else a Palestinian assassination squad bent on killing Sadat was apprehended on the West Bank two days before his visit to Jerusalem. It has been suggested that in his fury, a fury not soothed by reports of Palestinian participation in the Cyprus airport shootout, Sadat might even make a separate peace with Israel. He has, indeed, withdrawn special protected status from Palestinians in Egypt but, for political reasons, he is not likely to abandon the cause of the Palestinians. Nevertheless, this is clearly a favorable psychological moment for some significant Israeli negotiating initiative which could strengthen Sadat's position. Begin sent his regrets at the time of Sibai's murder, but it is important to convert a psychological moment into substantive progress which would not be subjected to the rapid backward slippage that is so common in the desert sands. The Israeli cabinet has voted to stand pat on the Sinai and West Bank settlements, and the Egyptians recognize that no progress is likely before Begin and Dayan visit Washington in the Ides of March. This visit, however, will provide a critical opportunity to fashion some kind of real initiative, either on the Sinai settlements or on a statement of principles regarding Palestinians, which will demonstrate that Sadat's willingness to risk his own life for direct negotiations with Israel has paid off.

The French Gamble

Into the first week in March there still was no firm opinion as to how the March 12–March 19 French parliamentary elections would go. The left was holding steady in the polls with 50 per cent of the vote. Giscard's government coalition had 45 per cent, with the other 5 per cent going to various splinter groups. If the Left comes out ahead in the first round it is still not certain that it will end up with a majority in the Chamber of Deputies. The big question is whether Georges Marchais will urge Communist voters to support front-running Socialist candidates in the second round, given the polls that show the Communists trailing the Socialists by a substantial margin (CP 21 per cent, to the Socialists' 27). Nor is it sure whether, face to face with the prospect of a Socialist government which has promised to nationalize large segments of the nation's industry and banking and to stoke up inflationary pressures through raising minimum wages and social services, the French voters won't, second time around, decide to settle for a government they do not particularly like, but whose ground-rules they understand. The French elections are in the foreground; in the background, it is important to understand the Communist tactic. What the Communists are up to in France—and elsewhere in Europe—is what has always been their primary objective: to weaken the Social Democrats in order ultimately to destroy them. That was why Marchais abruptly broke up the Coalition of the Left last fall, making what then looked like a certain Socialist-Communist victory into one that now looks a good deal less certain.

If it suits their plans, the Communists may support the Socialists on March 19 and may even join the Socialists as junior partners in a new French government. But their purpose will not be to have that government succeed—they don't care about that. What they want is to break the Socialist leaders and alienate or decimate their troops, just as Lenin's first objective was to destroy Kerensky and his followers.

The Socialists, on the other hand, see their ultimate goal simply as the attainment of power—winning the election—and this in turn makes them vulnerable to manipulation by the Communists.

Meaning of Hamilton Jordan

A great deal of excitement surrounds the behavior of Hamilton Jordan, who in everything but title is President Carter's White House chief of staff. In a, so to speak, lively Administration—Bert Lance, Andrew Young, Midge Costanza, Joe Califano—Jordan has managed to stand out as a particularly live wire.

Now the White House has seen fit to issue a lengthy

statement, practically a White Paper, attempting to refute allegations by a gossip columnist that Jordan, fresh from his tour of the pyramids, spat a drink down the blouse of a female in a Washington bar.

Well, this must be of intense interest to her dry-cleaner, but the metaphenomena here are much more interesting than the phenomena themselves. The extraordinary White House response can only be understood in the context of a surrounding hostility, which is partly social and partly political. For established Washington society, the Carter people are strictly from Dogpatch. When the Kennedy crowd pushed each other into swimming pools, well, that was charming, spontaneous, fun, modern. Jordan's capers are not. They are—and they *are*—vulgar. Politically, Carter has not been liberal enough in his programs for the Washington Establishment. He ran as an outsider, and he remains one. In an atmosphere in which the Mondales are culture heroes, patrons of the arts, etc., even Teddy Kennedy is acceptable. But the clowns from Dogpatch had better not cut up.

Looking Down

One of James Thurber's cartoons shows a starchy little clergyman in a bar, clutching his Bible, sternly addressing a drunken floozy who is raising her glass to him in giddy salutation (or is it defiance?). He intones: "Unhappy woman."

The *New York Times* has taken note of the tenth anniversary of the Kerner Commission's report by publishing a gloomsaying series on the present position of blacks in America. "As a whole," reports the *Times*, "the nation's 25 million blacks have gained enormously in the last decade, but . . ." That *but* is the keynote. The "ghettos" still exist, in worse shape than ever. Median black income is still 60 per cent of the white median. Then there's teenage unemployment (no mention of minimum wage laws). And so forth. "We hear the echoes of the Kerner Report now because they reverberate against a background of silence," intones the *Times*, sternly clutching the report.

The thesis of the Kerner Report was false even when it was published. "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal." On the contrary, it was obvious even in 1968 that blacks were moving into the middle class: going to college, moving to the suburbs, taking white-collar jobs, making white friends. All these phenomena were visible then, and the trend has increased steadily. It is among the most striking facts of contemporary life.

Oddly, the *Times* recognizes that a division has occurred—not between blacks and whites, but between middle-class and poor urban blacks. As the middle class has left Harlem, the hard-core poor remain, intensifying

the problems of Harlem—though not of blacks as a whole. This pattern is what Edward Banfield (Kerner's contemporary) identified as "the logic of metropolitan growth." The middle-class black who shuns the lower-class black can hardly do so out of "racism." What is involved is a pair of alternative—and incompatible—"lifestyles." As Banfield points out, there really are people in this world who make slums out of any neighborhood they dominate, because they pursue short-term satisfactions. The point is that those satisfactions do satisfy: a life of drunken improvidence, for instance, is not necessarily an expression of "despair" and "alienation," reflecting frustrated middle-class aspirations. The black middle class is about as moralistic about this kind of satisfaction as the white middle class, give or take a little allowance for kindred human weakness; but it is more realistic in perceiving that the lower class—the "permanent underclass"—is not necessarily "unhappy" until the side effects catch up with the satisfactions.

What action is being prescribed? So far, affirmative action (which benefits those blacks who least need help) and increased welfare services (including white-sponsored abortion of black fetuses). In other words, tokenism and benign genocide. The thought that the middle-class virtues ought to be vigorously and even aggressively fostered in the inner cities seems not to have occurred to anybody except Jesse Jackson and the Black Muslims. White liberals seem unable to respect poor blacks enough to be capable of despising their behavior. Unlike blacks themselves, they carefully deplore calling rioters and looters "animals"; while treating animality as normal—for blacks.

California Dreamin'

"Save the American Dream," read the bumper stickers, "Vote YES on 13"—13 being a proposition, coming up on California ballots this June, to limit property taxes to 1 per cent of market value. Seventy-five-year-old Howard Jarvis and Paul Gann collected 1.2 million fed-up signatures in support of their measure, and polls show Proposition 13 winning by 3 to 1 if the vote were held today. At least one of the five Republican contenders for the gubernatorial nod has come out for it, and an alarmed state legislature is scurrying to put together a compromise. "It's been a catalytic influence," observed Governor Brown's executive secretary. Or translated from mushspeak: they're scared as hell.

Proposition 13 has serious flaws. Unlike Ronald Reagan's Proposition 1, which Californians narrowly rejected four years ago, 13 merely attacks one form of taxation, without limiting the total size of state and local spending. Moreover, the \$7-billion cut would fall entirely on the levels of government closest to the people, and therefore theoretically to be preferred, and the services they pro-

On the Road to Mandalay

(Sung by Mr. Brezhnev)

Lookin' somewhere east o' Suez
Where the British played croquet,
There's a submarine a-sailin'
And the vodka flows all day.
In the bay, the wogs read Lenin
Where the old flotilla lay,
While the mullahs wail in Russian
As I learn to play croquet . . .

(Chorus)

I shall learn to play croquet
As the bourgeois did all day:
Can't you hear those mallets chunkin'
While we bash each émigré?
I . . . shall *love* to learn croquet-ay
Where the nannies used to play,
And I'll hog their bloomin' sea routes
When I learn to play croquet.

W. H. VON DREELE

vide—police, schools. If Proposition 13 induces the state to assume school financing, warns Republican hopeful Ed Davis, state "control" will follow. Jarvis and Gann reply that they have included provisions to make increasing state taxes more difficult; while the strapped localities can tap the state's large budget surplus.

Proposition 13 could effect national politics in two ways. Brown, already faltering from unpopular stances on nuclear power (against) and the death penalty (against), may find his road to the White House dynamited unless he can come up with something better faster. And whether 13 wins or loses, its sponsors intend to take their fight beyond California. Taxpayer rebellion, says Gann, is "a hot national issue." One hopes other states will exploit it as zestfully, and more carefully.

Upset in New Jersey?

An exceptionally interesting Republican primary campaign is shaping up in the Senate race in New Jersey. For four terms, Senator Clifford Case has enjoyed a safe seat, usually rolling up huge majorities against token opposition. However, Case, at 73, is judged by many to be out of touch with his own constituency and with contemporary America. He has earned, and richly, and indeed poorly, a 95 per cent ADA rating, placing him well to the left of most Democrats, and especially younger Democrats. Within the contemporary Republican Party he is a kind of political freak. For his last run, in 1972, the AFL-CIO provided nearly one-third

of his campaign budget, even while working to defeat Republican candidates statewide. Case seldom visits New Jersey between elections.

The challenge is classic. Jeffrey Bell, at 33, marches to a very different drummer. He has gained practical experience in the Nixon and Reagan campaigns. He knows how to set up an organization, and how to preserve cheerfulness in the inevitable motels and Holiday Inns. A Columbia graduate, he served as an enlisted man in Vietnam. As a steady campaigner in recent weeks, he has attracted the attention of the national press. He comes on as tough but respectful, always referring to "Senator Case," but also stressing the potent and emerging themes of the private sector, tax cuts, and a range of social-conservative issues. He has planned methodically and raised a \$150,000 campaign chest.

A recent poll of Republican primary voters conducted by the Eagleton Institute of Politics of Rutgers University yielded the following: 30 per cent favor Case, 34 per cent would vote for someone else, and 37 per cent are undecided. The Bell campaign has received over 10,000 individual contributions and raised \$60,000 more than Democratic challenger Bill Bradley.

It is much too early to offer an assessment. If Case is as vulnerable as some think, other candidates are bound to jump into the race. But there could be a changing of the guard in New Jersey.

Communist Lazarus

Wilfred Burchett could not have plotted his cultural resurrection any better had he hired a Madison Avenue public relations firm. Only six months ago he was just another leftist, toiling away and aging fast as a foreign correspondent for the *Guardian*, an obscure Maoist weekly newspaper in New York City. Now he's a contributor to Establishment periodicals, an authority on "people's revolutions," a strolling lecturer, the object of major publishers' attention.

Burchett's career had been tawdry enough, to be sure. He had played Edgar Snow to every Communist revolution since 1950, chatting with Ho Chi Minh, sipping tea with Mao, all the time deploring those damned imperialists, i.e., anyone who was anti-Communist. His sycophancy reached especial heights in Vietnam, where he toured underground tunnels with the Vietcong, interrogated American POWs, and nominated Ho Chi Minh for sainthood. Still, he was unknown here, prevented by the State Department from entering the U.S., a loser to Jane Fonda and Ramsey Clark in the anti-American media-sweepstakes.

Public relations genius lurked just beneath the surface, however. When the State Department last fall lifted its restrictions on his U.S. travel, Burchett seized the day. He and the *Guardian* organized a two-month

speaking tour to cities and college campuses, a TV appearance, and a visit to Harvard's Nieman Fellowship Society for journalists.

But it wasn't until the reaction to his tour set in that Burchett's rise was assured. Conservative journals, including *NR* (Dec. 23), commented on his career, but so did conventional newspapers like the *New York Post* and the *Boston Herald American*. The accounts were universally damning because true.

Burchett proved immune to such fact. Ever so subtly, he has been rehabilitated. First, he was given space on the *New York Times* Op-Ed page to tell us why revolutionaries resort to violence. Next, the *Columbia Journalism Review* ridiculed the *Post* for its "hysterical" coverage of Burchett's "lecture" tour. "The only agency that ever tried to recruit me," *CJR* quoted Burchett as having written, "is the CIA." Now, in a magnificent irony, Burchett appears in the March issue of *Harper's* with a long review of Frank Snepp's book, *Decent Interval*, the critical account of America's last few weeks in Vietnam. *Harper's* Editor Lewis Lapham certainly gets what he paid for: a denunciation of the morals of Snepp, the CIA, and America; and an encomium to the "liberators" from the North.

But aside from leftist theater, Burchett's new-found respectability provides an interesting cultural insight. To a certain cast of mind, critiques from the Right, based on known fact, are never really important. They are all considered somehow a bit too much like—you can whisper it—*McCarthyism*. Or they are threats to free speech. Communist sympathizers, apparent agents even, are harmless.

A toast, then, to Wilfred Burchett's blossoming journalistic career, and to the gullibility of the Establishment press. Like Alger Hiss and La Pasionaria, the workhorses of the Left never die, and they don't even fade away.

Oh, No, Not Arthur Schlesinger Jr. Again?

Arthur Schlesinger Jr. has always enjoyed the talent of being able to see exactly what he wishes to see, and then to write about it as if it were really there, fooling a lot of credulous innocents. His brilliant career arose on the basis of this talent, starting mainly with *The Age of Jackson* (1945), which made liberals, and socialists, and the usual creeps feel good by arguing that the Roosevelt Revolution (1932-1945) had merely been a continuation of the trends that flowered under Andy Jackson (1829-1837). Historians have blown that bit of balderdash right out of the water in recent years, but it served its purpose at the time—and that's all one should demand of propaganda.

Well, the Professor of Darkness is at it again, this time in the *Wall Street Journal* (Feb. 21), arguing that the "Swing to the Right" isn't "real," and prophesying that liberalism will outlive conservatism. (In propaganda operations, prophecy and history serve the same purpose; one "sees" what one advocates, whether it is said to happen yesterday or tomorrow.)

Schlesinger's principal contention—the one he saves for the anchorman position on a relay team of sophisms—is that the last many years have not been a test of liberalism at all, but a test of conservatism, and that it hasn't worked, and that it is time for us to "resort to affirmative government." Well, when the historian who is not doubling in brass takes a look at the last several Administrations, he sees federal expenditures of \$76 billion in fiscal 1960, accompanied by a slight surplus, and now Mr. Carter's proposed budget of \$500 billion for fiscal 1979, with yet one more enormous deficit after a string of enormous deficits.

Federal expenditures have multiplied seven times since 1960, and state and local have grown even faster—and this isn't "affirmative"?

None so blind as those who will not see.

Maurice Robinson, R I P

Maurie Robinson was a quiet man, so quiet indeed that he slipped out of his life without his friends at NATIONAL REVIEW hearing of it for a matter of weeks. He was a great friend of Frank and Elsie Meyer, had been with them in the Communist Party in Chicago in the old days. He left the Party shortly thereafter and became a Catholic 'convert. He would many years later be the godfather to Elsie and John Meyer when they joined the Church after Frank's death. Like so many former Communists he made the ideological trek all the way over to the Right and was instrumental in putting together *Spectrum*, one of the first radio programs to include conservative spokesmen. *Spectrum* started up in January 1971 with six commentators, two liberal (Murray Kempton and Nicholas Von Hoffman), two middle of the road (Jack Jessup and Stewart Alsop), and two conservative (M. Stanton Evans and Jeffrey St. John). It was Maurie Robinson that kept it going, pointing out the importance of giving CBS listeners a balanced diet, at least for two and a half minutes, six days a week. At its peak, *Spectrum* included TV debates as well as radio spots. In his own quiet way, he took on the brass and kept the program going until by now it has become a fixture that would be hard to scrub.

Maurie died dreadfully, of cancer, in deep pain. "He didn't want to die," his wife Carol wrote us, "but when he knew he would, he concentrated on dying well and as a Christian. He was, in those last weeks, in a state of spiritual euphoria." For a quiet man he left a big hole.

General Daniel James, R I P

He was one of 17 children of a man who pushed a coal dolly in a gas plant, he was raised in Pensacola, he was black—and he rose to be a four-star general in the United States Air Force, commanding the North American Air Defense Command. There were two men who had the authority to "push the button." One was the President. The other was General Daniel James.

Starting thirty years ago—long before the Martin Luther Kings—he fought for equal treatment of blacks and whites in the armed forces. He was dead set against destroying the institutions of the country he loved with unfeigned enthusiasm, and insisted that progress in all forms comes from within. He flew combat in three wars and once wrote that he'd gladly fight in three wars more to defend his country.

At a press conference in January, announcing his retirement, he said: "If I could write the script for my life all over again, of how I wanted it to go, I don't know of anybody else who has been able to do precisely what he set out to do and what he wanted to do, and what he had the most fun doing and what he felt the most sense of accomplishment at having done, than I have. The Air Force is the greatest place in the world for me, and if I had to do it all over again, I would do it exactly the same way."

God rest his gallant soul.

Notes



Asides

■ (From WFB's syndicated column):

Senator John Tower was recounting some of his difficulties in Texas. "There's one guy. He's sort of their leader. He writes me maybe once, twice a week, giving me hell, why did I do this, why didn't I do that. I always reply personally, try to explain. Doesn't do any good. You know what he answered when I pointed out to him that I had an ACA record of 92? 'That proves you're 8 per cent Communist!'" Can anyone imagine the kind of mail Senator Tower would be getting if he decided to vote in favor of the Panama Canal treaties? One wonders what the ACA said, back in those days, about giving away the Philippines, in which of course we had a much bigger investment than ever we had in Panama; but I am being distracted by issues, whereas this is intended to be a piece on political manners.

Oh, but I have some choice ones. This morning there

is a telegram from a gentleman in Enid, Oklahoma. The text is: "DEAR BILL: NEXT LET'S PROPOSE TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE THROUGH YOUR GOOD OFFICES A GUANTANAMO BAY TREATY, SAME TERMS AS COMRADE TORRIJOS'. ARRANGE ANOTHER DEBATE WITH RONALD REAGAN, USE SAME RHETORIC, WITH FONDEST REGARDS, FIDEL CASTRO." At least there is a trace of wit there, never mind that Enid's own Castro ignores the argument that the United States would be better off under the proposed treaties rather than worse off. I would gladly debate the proposal that we should give up Guantanamo if I could convince myself that we would be better off by doing so. I have, for instance, done the necessary thinking on the subject and would be glad to argue the proposition that the United States should give up Jimmy Carter, and be willing to pay a billion a year to whoever will take him. But not even John Tower's friend in Texas has made the formal proposal. Anyway, you get the idea: people who believe in the desirability of the Panama treaties are pro-Castro—just in case you missed the point.

Yesterday's mail brought a choice one from one James P. Tucker Jr., the managing editor of something called *The Spotlight—The Paper You Can Trust*.

I cannot hold it back from you:

"Dear Mr. Buckley: Last December *The Atlantic* published an article by Sanford J. Ungar about the Panama Canal treaties stating that there have been many promoters who have offered to 'sell' their professional services to the backers of the Panama treaties and not all of them, he said, were liberals. He also said the following: 'Inevitably, the promoters with solid conservative ties come on the strongest, insisting they have more clout with the treaties' ardent opponents; for a price they could be persuaded to try and turn their own folks around on the issue.' I am writing to ask you, as a one-time 'conservative' 'leader,' whether or not you have any idea who Mr. Ungar may be talking about?"

Now kindergarten students of rhetoric will size up the tendency of that communication from the quotation marks plus the operative adjective, "one-time." I.e., the addressee is no longer a conservative, no longer a leader: because he has broken the faith on the Panama Canal treaties. And of course, by implication, he has done so for a fee. An appropriate response for such as Mr. Tucker is: "My fee was \$1 million plus life-time free passage through Canal for my sailboat. Will reverse myself if you can improve the terms."

Then there are the ten letters per day on the theme that the purpose of the Panama treaties is to bail out a couple of U.S. banks that are overextended in Panama, to which the obvious answer is that if American banks are that influential in writing U.S. policy, why don't they do something about inflation?

Well, well. I called Ronald Reagan the other day

and asked him if he was short on hate-mail, as I'd be glad to send him some of mine. He chuckled. He knows. Poor Reagan, he got it when he picked Senator Schweiker. On that occasion I had to write to any number of people to try to convince them that Ronald Reagan had not in fact sold out to the Communists, that his selection of a liberal Republican was politically and traditionally justifiable. Most of his supporters finally rallied to him, but, for a week or two, there was no forgiving him. He was wonderfully good-natured about it (save toward what one might call the Mississippi Factor); and so am I determined to be, though as Harry Truman once said, years after the event, about the music critic who had savaged Margaret, using rather more forthright language, I think if I ran into Tucker I would show him that this one-time "conservative" "leader" has not lost all his punch.

■ Memo to: WFB

From: Frances Bronson

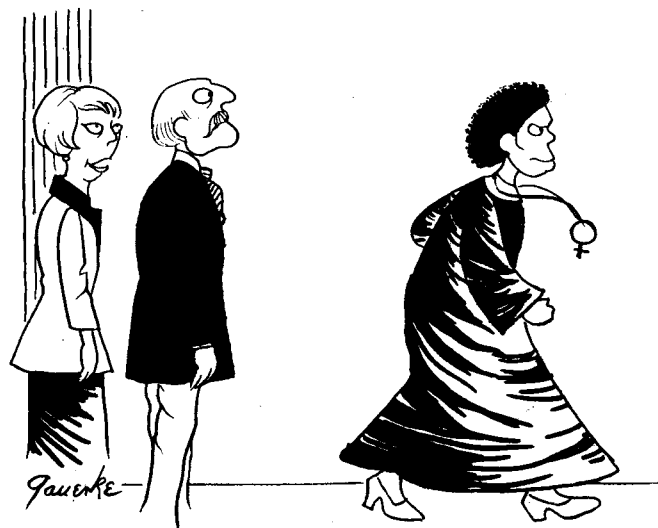
I received an excited call from the PR man at Pan Am, who had read your piece on Senator Humphrey [Dec. 23, 1977]. He is disturbed at some of the facts. Some heads will roll, I gather, if in fact you were allowed access to the cockpit to witness the landing in London. How long ago was this, he wants to know? Are you sure it was Pan Am? The PR man said that Pan Am never showed *The French Connection* in flight. What shall I tell him?

Memo to: FB

From: WFB

Tell him it was El Al, and the movie was *Exodus*, and he should relax.

—WFB



"Something tells me she's the last Republican Judge he'll fire."

THE POLICY, or lack of policy, of the Carter Administration toward recent events in the region of the African Horn is provoking harsh criticism not only from conservatives but from many liberals sensitive to the global Soviet threat. The critics judge the policy to be weak, procrastinating, ambiguous, and heedless of an increasingly probable strategic disaster for this country and NATO. In place of its seeming passivity, many of the critics believe that we should be openly siding with Somalia against the Ethiopian-Soviet-Cuban combine, and should be sending Somalia weapons of an amount and power sufficient to deal with the weapons sent to the Ethiopian side by Moscow.

We must assume that the President, the National Security Council, the Joint Chiefs, and the Director of the CIA are fully aware of the strategic significance of the Horn—its geographical and geopolitical relations to the southern entrance to the Red Sea, the Suez Canal traffic, the Arabian peninsula, the Indian Ocean, north-south air routes, etc. On this they surely do not need lessons from amateurs. We have, moreover, no reason to doubt their devotion to the nation's security. There must be reasons that they find cogent for being cautious, and for avoiding an all-out, public commitment to Somalia. Without attempting to judge the merits of the dispute, I will list what I think some of those reasons may be:

The African Way

1. Although it is true that the Horn of Africa is strategically important, it is perhaps no longer quite so important as the critics of the Administration assume. If it guards, or threatens, the entrance to the Red Sea and thus passage to and from the Suez Canal, the Canal is itself much less important strategically than it used to be. Western Europe's oil lifeline is around the Cape, not through the Canal. For Western Europe and the United States, the Suez Canal is, militarily as well as economically, a convenience, not a necessity. Militarily, it is much more important

for the Soviet Union than for the West. The Horn's potential role in relation to the Indian Ocean is useful but not uniquely decisive.

2. Somalia is not a nation toward which the United States has any reason to feel either friendship or obligation. Until yesterday Somalia was a compliant protégé of the Soviet Union, and would doubtless become so again tomorrow if the Kremlin made a juicy enough offer. For a long time back, in contrast, our relations with Ethiopia have been both friendly and active. Ethiopia has a population of 28 million; Somalia, of three million. Colonel Mengistu types often disappear from the scene as quickly as they enter it; and even when they stay, they have been known to change their minds about all sorts of things. It is not written in stone that Ethiopia must from now on remain tied to the Kremlin's apron strings. Africa's new rulers have shown a great deal of agility at adjusting their ideas to their interests.

3. From the beginning of postwar decolonization, the new African nations have made territorial integrity their first principle. Their leaders know that in most cases the national boundaries are arbitrary and irrational—the results of deals among the colonial powers that had little to do with African realities. In particular, they are aware that the boundaries do not coincide with the homelands of Africa's hundreds of tribes that are its primary demographic reality. It is precisely *because* of the irrationality that the leaders oppose any change in the borders, whether by division or extension. Once one dam bursts, the leaders figure, floods that would engulf the whole continent might follow.

The first great test of this taboo came in the former Belgian Congo, and the suppression of Katanga's breakaway bid fixed the pattern of the African response. The rest of Africa, with the partial exception of one nation, kept hands off the brutal liquidation of an attempted tribal secession from Nigeria, as from bloody tribal pogroms in Rwanda, Sudan, Uganda, and several small nations along the West Coast. Conversely, the African leaders shut

their eyes last year to Western intervention in Zaire to block an attempt to break off Shaba.

This African first principle is irrational in the abstract, but in practice it makes a good deal of sense. And Somalia has been its grossest violator—in fact and even more in avowed aim. Somalia has proclaimed the goal of a Greater Somalia that would comprise all ethnic Somalis and the land they live on (or, rather, since most are nomads, roam), which includes large portions of Kenya and the new Republic of Afars and Issas (Djibouti) as well as of Ethiopia. It is this flouting of the first principle that has kept all the new African nations, including those that are on the whole pro-Western, from siding with Somalia, and that would assure united African opposition to open U.S. intervention on Somalia's side while Somalia was still fighting for annexation of areas beyond its borders. This attitude could quickly change if the Ethiopians, Russians, and Cubans pressed the fighting into Somalian territory as defined on independence day.

Questions of Timing

4. Meanwhile the U.S. will do its best to keep its profile low. It will do no harm to let friendly Mideast countries know Washington has no objection to their sending weapons to Somalia, and will provide replacements. Diplomatic pressure and psychological warfare may be able to restrain the Soviets, isolate them politically, and prepare for a successful confrontation if they cross the Somali border. In the present phase of their post-Vietnam depression, Americans—even most of the Americans who talk tough—are in no mood for gallant deeds in faraway places. Machiavelli reminded rulers that they "ought to imitate both the Lion and the Fox; for the Lion is in danger of toils and snares, and the Fox of the Wolf; so that he must be a Fox to find out the snares, and a Lion to fright away the Wolves, but they who keep wholly to the Lion, have no true notion of themselves." And it is still the time of the Fox. □

Despite the best efforts of the Soviet bloc, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty have survived for over 25 years. The question now is whether they can survive their enemies on this side of the Iron Curtain

Stilling the Heady Voices of Freedom

RICHARD BROOKHISER

"If we ever hear anything about events in this country, it's through them."

—Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

AFTER A QUARTER-CENTURY of broadcasting to the people of Eastern Europe and Russia, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty have gotten used to electronic interference. Rumania and Hungary have abandoned the practice, and Poland does it only sporadically; but Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and the Soviet Union continue as in the days of Stalin. For every RFE/RL transmitter, the Communists are thought to deploy at least four high-power short-wave jammers, in addition to some fifty ground-wave jammers located in cities of 500,000 or more. Sometimes this interference takes the form of government programs muscling in on RFE/RL frequencies; more often, it is pure noise, also known as "KGB jazz." Fortunately for those who wish to listen, jamming is more expensive than transmitting, and more difficult; and despite aging equipment, the two stations reach an estimated audience of 16 to 17 million.

Since 1972, however, they have been getting interference of a different kind. Consider, for example, the fate last March of two White House proposals. Endorsing the results of a study which had been in the works since 1973, Carter asked Congress to authorize 11 new RFE/RL transmitters; meanwhile, his national security advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski, suggested William Griffith, a fellow academic, for the chairmanship of the five-man Board of Interna-

tional Broadcasting. The reaction, at home and abroad, was swift. Professor Griffith, it turned out, had had previous experience with RFE/RL. Too much, in fact—he had been Radio Free Europe's chief political advisor during the Hungarian revolution in 1956, and Senators McGovern and Percy sent the President a stiff note: "It is important that the board be led by a man whose reputation is one of dedication to communication and not to cold war." Communist response to the transmitter proposal was equally solemn; Poland's *Trybuna Ludu* called the Carter request "astounding," and denounced the two stations as "subversive cold war institutions." (The hardware survives; the professor did not.)

The Communist governments whose blockades on information it is RFE/RL's purpose to subvert have, of

course, always been hostile; but in recent years, they have been joined by increasing numbers of American liberals in attacking the stations as threats to peace. Their diagnoses differ: liberals worry mainly about "excesses," while the Communists view RFE/RL's very existence as a provocation. But their concern is the same—that the two organizations, like a pair of old factories whose belching stacks have not been brought into line with the latest clean air standards, are fouling the atmosphere of detente. In the March confrontation, American senators and Polish editorialists chose the same devil-phrase, "cold war"—and, in a sense, they were right. RFE/RL are anachronisms, survivors from a time when Communist censorship was thought to be dangerous enough to require undoing. We did not, after all, beam broadcasts against Perón. America took to the airwaves against Communist governments because it judged Communism's depredations to be somehow special—a judgment which detente, whatever Henry Kissinger's intentions, makes psychologically untenable. One consequence of our policies must therefore be the eventual gelding of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. The gelding has already begun.

Radio Free Europe—serving Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Rumania—made its first broadcast July 4, 1950; Radio Liberty, broadcasting to the Soviet Union, followed three years later. The magazines are already yellow which gave photographs of those early operations—mobile transmitters parking a few miles from frontiers; high-altitude balloons with freedom leaflets



Mr. Brookhiser is on the NR staff.

wafting across bleak no-man's-lands. It was a period when roll-back seemed credible; and whatever flak the two stations got was for not being hard-line enough.

Hungary dampened such enthusiasms. Radio Free Europe was accused of encouraging a rebellion which America had no intention of assisting. RFE/RL thereafter stayed out of the shooting wars; the two stations confined themselves to the rolling back of minds. "When RFE first began," one staffer told the *Washington Post* in 1970, "we looked on it as a five-year job. We were wrong—and we had to . . . accommodate [ourselves] to the longer view."

But what would happen if the "longer view" changed? The first hints of a shift came with the Ostpolitik of Willy Brandt. RFE's Continental headquarters are in Munich, and many of the RFE/RL transmitters are in West Germany. Throughout 1970, there were rumors that Brandt wanted to use the stations as bargaining chips with the Soviet Union—and that he was prevented from doing so only by negative reactions from Washington.

Cold War Relics

By 1972, however, Washington was engaged in an Ostpolitik of its own. Nixon went to Peking in February and came back enthused about new structures of peace. The chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee decided to take him at his word. On February 17, William Fulbright urged that "these radios should be given an opportunity to take their rightful place in the graveyard of cold war relics."

The Fulbright assault could not have come at a worse moment. In 1971, Senator Clifford Case had discovered the open secret that the two stations were funded, not, as they claimed, by private donations, but by the CIA. An embarrassed Administration promptly took them off the CIA payroll, while the House passed a bill to put them under the control of an independent board, with funding through June 30, 1973. The Senate, however, under Fulbright's prodding, would not extend funding past mid-1972, and insisted on keeping the stations under the rein of

the State Department. When the two bills deadlocked, Fulbright refused to budge.

He did not stand alone. "Washington would be sensible if it followed Senator Fulbright's advice," said *Pravda*. "If Congress has an extra \$35 million a year to spend on enlightenment, we suggest it be put into Public Broadcasting in the U.S.," offered *The New Republic*. When pressed for justification, Fulbright simply pointed to the actions of the Administration. "If after one short week we can reach the kind of understanding with China that would foreclose a 'Radio Free China,' then I find it incomprehensible . . . that we must continue to support a Radio Liberty." The Administration meanwhile did little to thwart him. On March 11, Nixon announced that he was "deeply concerned" over the stations' fate; yet his statement came several hours after the deadlock had been resolved—in Fulbright's favor.

The stations were saved only by an escape clause which allowed the question to come up again in June. By then, the gale warnings on the ethnic front had grown so numerous that Fulbright was rebuffed in his own committee. RFE and RL got a reprieve until June 30, 1973, at which time a special presidential commission under Milton Eisenhower was ready with recommendations: trim the stations, merge them, and supervise them by means of an independent Board of International Broadcasting.

"No other radio station provides us with such accurate and detailed information. . . . I would like to give you my opinion in detail, but I am afraid I might be persecuted for it."

—Letter to RFE from
Czechoslovakia

"Once I saw a sailor listening on a transistor set to one of your programs, 'Facts and Views.' A moment later the whole bench was occupied by chance listeners."

—Letter from a Polish student

The battle for survival had been won, but at a cost. In the summer of 1975, RFE employees in Munich went to the verge of a strike over merger-related personnel cuts. Of course, they were not totally disinterested—their jobs were at stake. Yet there was genu-

ine sentiment that the cuts would blunt RFE's research and monitoring capabilities.

Another consequence of the Fulbright battles is the specter of merger with the Voice of America. RFE/RL employees look down on the Voice of America—"They're simply translators," one RFE staffer told me—and with some reason. Voice of America is the official government station, run by the U.S. Information Agency, and its broadcasts hew strictly to the government line—which, since the early Seventies, has been so inoffensive that the Soviets no longer bother to jam it. RFE/RL could scarcely survive a merger without becoming equally straitened; yet one of the Eisenhower report's recommendations (not followed) was that RFE/RL consider joint use of VOA transmitters.

Mutations

The greatest damage, however, has come as a result, not of Fulbright's initiatives, but of the long-range policies to which he turned (not implausibly) for justification. Fulbright was a storm; detente is a climate. And, in the opinion of some listeners and employees, detente jazz is becoming as thick as the KGB variety.

American news and opinion are now taken almost solely from liberal sources; news scripts may undergo extraordinary mutations before seeing the light of day. According to one RFE worker, a piece on Cyrus Vance's recent trip to China initially quoted negative reactions from the Taiwanese ambassador and from Representative Clement Zablocki of the House Committee on International Relations; in the final version, these were cut.

Broadcasts about the affairs of Communist countries are even more carefully circumscribed. In December, Vladimir Bukovsky published in *Kontinent* a bitter vivisection of the RFE/RL policy manual.* Bukovsky is one of Radio Liberty's greatest well-wishers: in Soviet prison, he listened to its broadcasts on a makeshift radio; last April, he visited RL headquarters in Munich to offer advice and encouragement. Yet

*Translations of the *Kontinent* articles were provided by Andrei Lvovich. —RB

when he read the new, post-detente guidelines, he was dismayed.

"I am struck by the fear of life and spontaneity apparent in every single line of this document," Bukovsky wrote. "Information is treated as if it were a strong drug . . . that must be received in homeopathic doses." RL, according to its manual, *neither supports nor encourages any separatist or secessionist movement, and does not raise territorial issues*. Yet the Soviet constitution guarantees the right of any Republic to withdraw from the USSR—a right which numerous Ukrainian dissidents have claimed. RL is directed to avoid . . . any material which could be characterized as petty gossip, slander, [or] spiteful attack on the personal lives . . . of Party leaders. Yet it was just such gossip—and the truth of it—which drove Milovan Djilas to formulate his theory of the "new class"; "if Djilas appeared with his pronouncements today he would be, it seems, unacceptable at RL/RFE." *The content of samizdat documents should be carefully scrutinized prior to broadcast use. . . . Confirmation by two independent sources is required when the information content . . . can be considered partial*. "I have difficulties imagining how this would work in practice: if, for instance, a certain report is smuggled out of a concentration camp at a risk to one's liberty, how will RL find an independent source? Call the camp director?" It is possible, Bukovsky conceded, that RL's self-restraint may induce the Soviets to stop jamming; but in that case, the station would no longer be worth listening to.

People of the Stone Age

Lev Navrozov, another dissident émigré, has been free-lancing RL scripts for several years; and the restrictions of scope bother him too. Navrozov desires peace as ardently as any State Department policymaker; but he puts no faith in diplomacy as a means of achieving it. America's only hope of permanently assuaging Communist regimes, he is convinced, lies in the enlightenment of their populations—rulers and ruled alike.

If RFE/RL are to contribute to this enlightenment, however, mere accounts of day-to-day news will not be enough. After decades of totalitarian rule, Navrozov explains, the people of Eastern



Europe and Russia have been reduced to a political stone age. "Deprive [a] population for half a century of newspapers and all other sources of information and creativity. Install instead a single network supplying it with a mythology created by a single will. What will be the result? . . . In socio-civics the majority of the Russian population is now at the same level as some African tribes in medicine. The truth should be broadcast to this population—[but it will have to be] from the multiplication tables upward."

The task is made more complicated by the fact that the purpose of Communist propaganda is to make the multiplication tables seem incredible. Good propaganda—and Soviet propaganda, Navrozov assures us, is very good—does not seek to prove its own arguments so much as to neutralize all counter-arguments. In order to accomplish this, each Soviet mind is surrounded from birth by a cordon of filters designed to transform any anomalous thought or fact which happens to penetrate. Western broadcasts which do not take this situation into account will inadvertently reinforce the official Soviet line.

Filtering begins with language itself. "It is curious," writes Navrozov, "that Soviet propagandists choose words depending on whether they are to be used to refer to the USSR, or to countries which they wish to destroy. For example, for 'unemployment,' they use 'job placement' for the USSR, 'joblessness' for the U.S.A. Radio Liberty's writers often pick up the terms which

carry the negative meanings which Soviet propaganda has invested in them."

Entire Western broadcasts of an "objective," non-polemical nature—Voice of America, BBC—can be filtered out in this way; and the blander RFE/RL become, the more likely they are to suffer the same fate. "RL," declared Viktor Sokolov in the most recent *Kontinent* ("Notes of a Radio Listener"), "tries the patience of its listeners with broadcasts of a frankly Marxist inclination. As such propaganda is beamed from Peking, Belgrade, Tirana, and other capitals around the clock, it hardly seems worth while for RL to strive for [such] laurels."

The only remedy, Navrozov concludes, would be to attract the best émigré talents available, and give them some slack. Post-detente reorganizations, however, have made this impossible. "Scorned, abused, neglected, the institution [has] slid into a rather common type of unmotivated bureaucracy with a huge, high-paid 'leadership' consisting solely of Americans . . . and a low-paid rank-and-file of 'natives' grinding out texts."

"It happens quite often that I am unable to hear your station because of the jamming. At such moments, I feel like smashing the radio."

—Letter to RFE from
Chrudim, Czechoslovakia

"The first secretary of a Party local comes in after an intermission to a Party meeting and finds the hall still empty. 'Where is everyone?' he asks. 'Shhh!' says the second secretary. 'They all went home to listen to Radio Liberty and find out what the hell really happened.'"

—Moscow joke

Once again, it must be stressed that there is nothing peculiarly invidious about any of this. The United States has elected to pursue a certain policy; and RFE/RL, as American clients, are being brought into line with it. No doubt detente's architects did not intend things to turn out quite this way. The Final Act of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation asserted that "all peoples always have the right, in full freedom, to determine, when and as they wish, their internal and external political status." Nixon and Kissinger quite likely interpreted

(Continues on page 363)

Announcing The Winners of The Rolex Awards for Enterprise



In September 1976, to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Rolex Oyster, we launched the Rolex Awards for Enterprise.

"To provide financial help for projects which seek to break new ground in their particular sphere and which capture the spirit of enterprise shown by Rolex, and Rolex owners, over the last 50 years."



The Rolex Oyster Perpetual Day-Date.

We offered a total of five awards of 50,000 Swiss francs each, together with a specially inscribed Rolex Chronometer.

The response from around the world was overwhelming and over 3,000 projects were finally considered.

The Winners

This spring, Dr. Billy Lee Lasley, Kenneth Lee Marten, and Francine Grace Penelope Patterson from the U.S.A., Luc Jean-François Debecker of Belgium, and Georges Marcel André Delamare of France were invited to Geneva, where they were each presented with a check for 50,000 Swiss francs, together with a specially inscribed gold Rolex Chronometer.

The Book

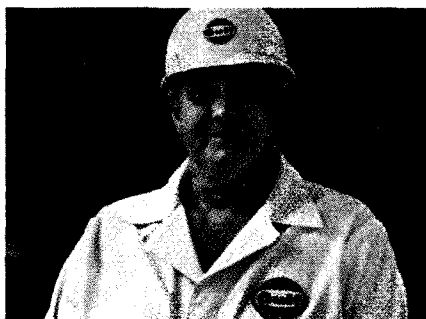
"The Rolex Awards for Enterprise," by Gregory B. Stone, will be published later in the year as a lasting tribute to the Rolex Spirit of Enterprise. The book will give a full account of the winning projects along with the details of hundreds of other entries. In the meantime, if you'd like more information on the winning entries, write to Enterprise, Rolex Watch U.S.A., Inc., Rolex Building, 665 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10022.





"This is the set where they shot 'Hello, Dolly!' What you can't see is us pumping oil behind it."

"One of the strangest places I ever produced oil," says Gulf Production Superintendent Eddie Culbertson, "was right here in Los Angeles in the back lot of the 20th Century-Fox studio."



"We showed them how they could have their oil *and* their movies."

"They found a big oil field right under a permanent set being used for shooting the movie 'Hello, Dolly!' in 1969."

The indirect approach

"How do you get at the oil without disturbing

the set, the streets, or the buildings? With a technique called directional drilling. The oil is under the city as far away as one mile from the surface location of the drill sites, which are hidden by the scenery.

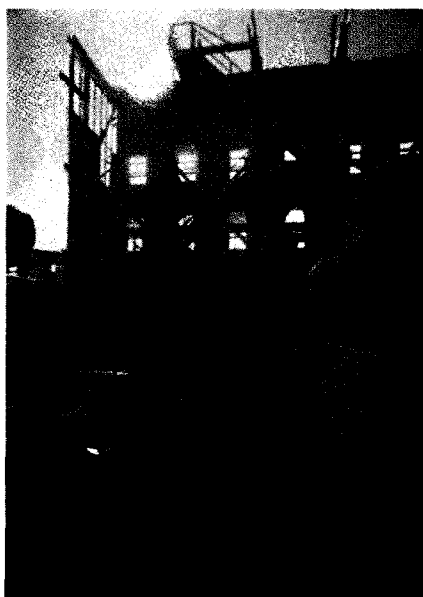
"Directional drilling has other advantages. You can drill 20 or 30 wells from one drill site instead of filling the landscape with oil derricks. Or you can drill for some

offshore oil without putting the drilling rig right in the water.

Keep America beautiful

"Sometimes it's a real challenge getting the oil without spoiling the landscape. Directional drilling is one way to do it. There are many more."

"Getting the oil out and preserving the environment is a challenge, but I'd say we were meeting it very well."



"Behind the scenery are 22 producing oil wells."



**Gulf people:
meeting the challenge.**

Main intersection at a
Hollywood oil field.

Gulf Oil Corporation



Color Palace® II.

**Just in case the purple in the tower isn't your sort of thing,
we created 49 other colors for you to choose from.**

In silky soft Anso® nylon plush.

Carpeting so good it's backed up by the world's strongest wear guarantee.

Color Palace II gives you a shimmering spectrum of easy-to-coordinate colors. It's easy to care for, too. The remarkable Anso fiber stays clean longer. And it's extra durable,

resists wear even in heavily used areas. Luxurious to look at and luxurious underfoot, Color Palace II is fit for a king. Or a queen. Or you. See it at your dealers now.



**MILLIKEN
CARPETS**
The good life at your feet.
LaGrange, Ga. 30240.

Marston and Sir Mordred

SHELDON M. SMITH

THE CASE OF David Marston will not go away. Mr. Marston was the United States Attorney for southeast Pennsylvania until he was sacked by Attorney General Griffin Bell two months ago. In the normal course of events it would have been a routine political maneuver: Marston is a Republican, a Ford appointee, and a former Schweiker aide. In any traditional political scheme, it would have been a simple matter of dropping the "outs" to make room for a loyal Democrat. Instead of which, a political storm brewed up, and dumped its record load on Bell, and on Jimmy Carter.

The storm that dumped on the White House pretty much originated in the White House. One can only assume that the Executive Branch had few contacts in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Someone in the White House, or the Justice Department, should have posed the basic question: "Why is Joshua Eilberg [D., Pa.] in such a hurry to get rid of this U.S. Attorney?" And a few discreet phone calls would have revealed that the aforementioned Eilberg was under investigation by the office of David Marston.

The issue was the convoluted finances of Philadelphia's Hahnemann Hospital, a venerable institution which has launched a \$65-million building program, largely on public funds: \$14.5 million came from a federal grant, passed by Congress at the instigation of Representative Daniel J. Flood (D., Pa.); \$39.5 million was being financed by state and local agencies, through the mediation of Eilberg's law firm, which has received over \$500,000 in fees from the hospital in the last two and a half years. No one has been convicted of anything, or has even faced formal charges, but the firing of Marston in such circumstances was a masterpiece of ineptitude.

In somewhat less than two years under Marston, the U.S. Attorney's office, in its prosecuting of corrupt public officials, had established quite a rec-

ord. The amount of corruption in the Commonwealth, proved and alleged, in recent years has been enough to make a buzzard lose his appetite. The citizenry has watched in awe as minions of the State Police Commission were shown to have been tapping the telephones of Crime Commission investigators. The attorney general got purged. Philadelphia's recently defeated district attorney, among his other actions, took the Fifth Amendment in a loan-sharking case involving a former client. Another attorney general got purged. And so it went.

In mid-1976, David W. Marston appeared on the scene. It looked like a pretty routine appointment. Marston is a graduate of Harvard Law School, did a brief stint with a prestigious Philadelphia law firm, ran (unsuccessfully) for the state house and state senate in successive years, and wound up as legislative aide to Senator Richard Schweiker. His nomination as U.S. Attorney looked like a typical political move. Except that things started happening.

Last June, the former speaker of the state house of representatives, Democrat Herbert Fineman, was convicted of accepting more than \$50,000 in bribes, for "expediting" the entrance of students to state-controlled professional schools. In September, Republican Theodore Rubino, former Chester County Commissioner, was convicted of extortion (to the tune of \$6,400), and sentenced to two years in prison. The citizenry quit yawning and realized that something was happening. They may not have recognized the name of David Marston. But they knew that, where local and state prosecutors had been doing nothing, the Feds were moving like a beagle after a three-legged rabbit.

On December 30, Marston's office won its most important conviction: that of Democratic State Senator Henry Cianfrani. Cianfrani had, for years, been one of the big wheeler-dealers in local and state politics. Now the U.S.

Attorney showed up with an airtight case and Cianfrani pleaded guilty to four charges of income tax evasion amounting to \$62,282, and 106 other counts (including accepting \$52,500 in bribes).

A week later, Griffin Bell fired Marston. When the moralists have finished their screaming, the firing will be seen as what it was: an act of thundering political ineptitude. In the two weeks of dickering between Bell and Marston that followed, a couple of facts became clear: Bell had the law behind him and Marston had the trumpets. The cries of outrage from Pennsylvania were quite spontaneous and quite genuine. Most of those doing the crying had not heard the name of David W. Marston prior to his expulsion. What they did know was that, finally, a bunch of scoundrels were being brought to justice, and that the man who had been responsible for the prosecutions was being canned.

IT WOULD BE unfair to accuse either the President or the Attorney General of any kind of venality. Both are probably still wondering how they got dumped into the wash when the wringer was running full speed. But neither has learned to deal with the basic moral problem of this Administration—namely, that if you appear on the scene holding the Grail aloft and announcing that you are Sir Galahad, you dastn't go around acting like Sir Mordred.

As of the date of this writing, three items dominate the local Philadelphia news: Representatives Joshua Eilberg and Daniel Flood are reported headed for indictments; former Senator Henry Cianfrani has been sentenced to five years in the slammer; and David W. Marston has announced that, in all likelihood, he will run for governor of Pennsylvania.

Marston says he does not expect much support from the Republican organization. He is right. But Pennsylvania is one state in which it is possible for the Republican Party to gain control of both houses of the legislature during the coming year. If Marston wins the governorship, it may be only his first step. □

Mr. Smith is a regular contributor to NR.



"Not only am I
a Bad Butcher,
but God bless
America!"

STRAIGHT FROM THE PADDED SHOULDER

"Violating the 9th,
15th and 17th Amend-
ments without violating
the 3rd, 6th and 12th is
Discrimination at it's
most Invidious"

"Dont sell Initia-
tive Penalizing short.
Miracles are being per-
formed in this field
every day, by idiots"

"Since Capital Pun-
ishment Never Deterred
Crime, incarceration will
deter it even less. Jails
should be converted
to Massage Parlors"

"Extremists are
challenging our inherent
right to turn the World
Upside Down"



SKULL SKILL FROM
THE LIMPS

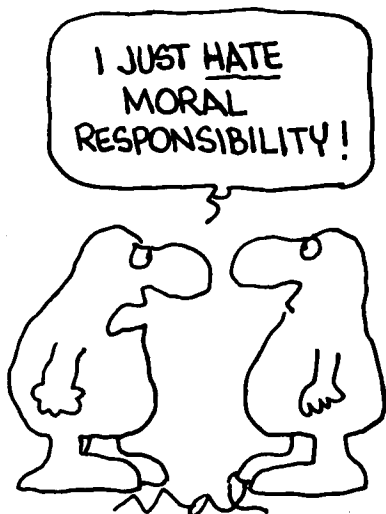
KREUTTNER

From Authorized Pre-"Edited" version of *The Boggle*, by John Kreuttner.

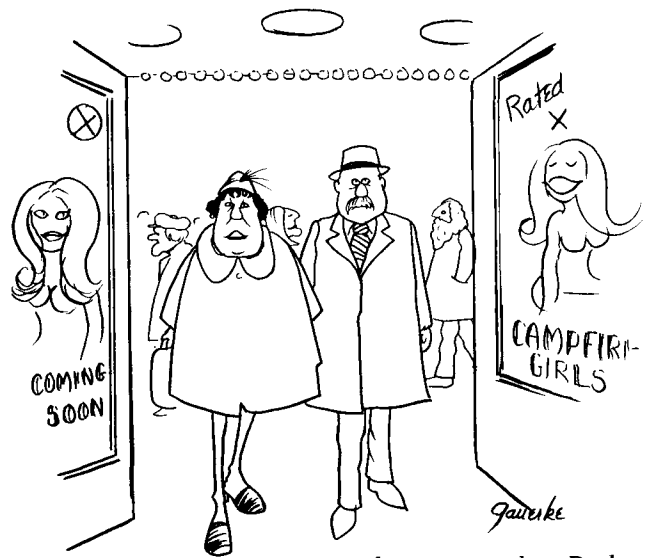


ROTHCO

"That's a pretty deep depression you've got there. Well, let's see
if we can get you back into a recession."



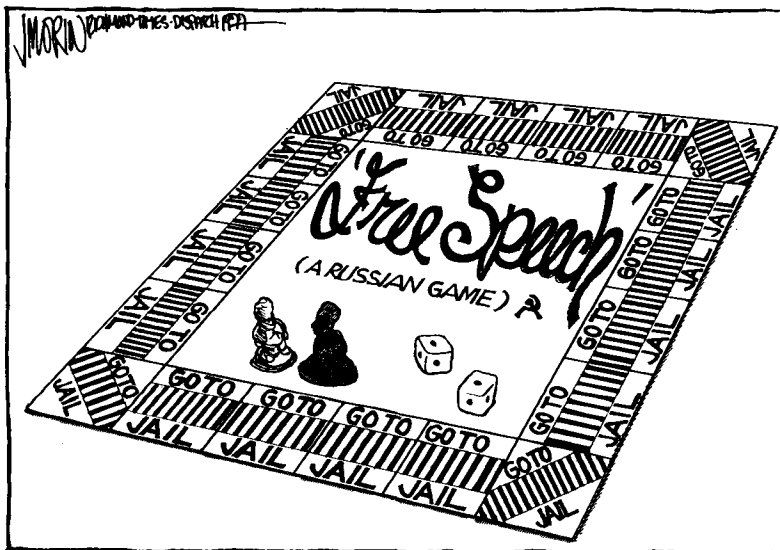
MACAfee



"No matter what transpires on the screen today, Rodney, remember, it's only a movie."



'OKAY, SHEIK, HERE COMES THE HARD PART....



Anchors Aweigh

Nine hundred ships in '65;
Six hundred still afloat.
Three hundred left five years ahead
Is what the sailors quote.
While Russian tonnage grows apace,
Why must ours peter down?
The scuttlebutt suggests a call
To Secretary Brown.

W. H. VON DREELE

Gay Rights and Conservative Politics

I. Minority Report: Mad about the Boys

JERE REAL

GEORGE A. YOUNG is troubled. Like many other Americans of middle-income status, he's bothered by recent events. He's one of that category of citizens so conveniently—and so cavalierly—described by pollsters as the “small” businessman. He is, in actuality, the steady working professional, who, as they say, helps form the fabric of our society.

George knows about inflation, knows what it is costing him and his business. Daily he lives with government over-regulation. Middle-aged and middle-class, he constantly fights two battles, one with the profit margin and the other with the waistline. He seems to be losing both. And with such routine problems facing him, he occasionally thinks, too, about bigger problems—things like the energy crisis, even foreign affairs. He isn't quite happy about the Panama Canal treaty, but he's not sure. He'd like to see, just for once, some kind of stability in the Middle East. He also has a sense that maybe, just maybe, the Carter Administration really *doesn't* have a sense of direction, that it's just drifting with the public apathy.

George has been a Republican—a conservative—voter ever since he first voted for Ike back in 1952. Now, he's *not* a Republican, mind you, at least not one of those 17 per cent who still claim it these days. George is what might be called a gut conservative, more reaction than action. But he did vote for Ike again in 1956 and for Nixon the first time in 1960. Then for Goldwater and for Nixon the second time. (In 1972, he stayed home.)

Lately, other things have been bothering George, and, come 1980, he's going to go out and vote Democratic even though it's not his traditional, more conservative political home. The reason? Well, George A. Young is G-A-Y—that's right, he's homosexual. And quite frankly, he's not too happy with what he's been hearing recently from the people who speak for his kind of politics.

George belongs to one of America's invisible and, until recently, silent minorities. It is not a small minority; it cuts

across the entire political spectrum, black and white, young and old, married and single, poor, middle-class, and wealthy. George is a florist, a druggist, a hardware-store owner, a theater manager, a restaurateur, a mechanic. He's that “nice young doctor who's so good with his patients” or that bachelor lawyer (“Wonder why he never got married . . .”). He's your daughter's riding instructor or the guy that sold you your last car—or, yes, he may even be that interior decorator you use because he “really is so good at his job.” There are, according to recent responsible estimates, about 15 to 20 million George A. Youngs scattered about the country.

Of these, maybe a hundred thousand live in San Francisco, and two hundred thousand in New York City; most of the remainder live just about any place. The reason most Americans don't know they're there is that, quite simply, their private lives have not yet been revealed, either by themselves (the “coming out” of currently fashionable jargon) or by one of those occasional unfortunate “discoveries” which can, for any homosexual, still mean the loss of a job, disbarment, or some other such catastrophe. Most of these George A. Youngs have never marched in a “gay rights” parade. Until recently, most had never signed a petition about their sexuality. For many homosexuals living in small towns, only their hairdresser *did* know.

BUT GEORGE is getting uneasy; in spite of his inherent conservatism, in economics, business, politics, *and* lifestyle, he's begun to feel a bit threatened. One of the reasons is that he's been reading his favorite editors and columnists, and he doesn't like what they've been saying about him and all the other George A. Youngs.

For example, he recently read: “In a healthy society, it [homosexuality] will be contained, segregated, controlled, and stigmatized, carrying both a legal and a social sanction.”

That came from neither *Mein Kampf*, *Pravda*, nor one of George Wallace's more erratic press conferences; it came from an article by former Nixon speechwriter Patrick Buchanan, now a syndicated conservative columnist. In subsequent articles, Buchanan cited homosexuality as the major cause of the disintegration of the American fam-

Mr. Real has been an Air Force officer, newspaper reporter, editorial-page writer for the Richmond News-Leader, and publicity executive in the recording industry. He writes for a variety of journals and currently is writing a Southern Gothic detective novel.

ily (omitting, strangely, divorce from his consideration) and the fall of the Weimar Republic (overlooking rampant inflation and an unstable political situation). Still more recently, supporting a U.S. Supreme Court decision about homosexual teachers, Buchanan wrote: ". . . to disqualify a teacher on the grounds of professed homosexuality seems neither mean-spirited nor irrational." I venture to suggest that to a rational conservative it might very well seem both.

The casual reader who disagreed with Buchanan's views might be inclined to write off these opinions as perhaps the overwrought outrage of a writer whose anger had, on this one issue at least, outrun his good sense. After all, there has always existed among the fantasy Right—the world of, say, the John Birchers and the Minutemen—a strong anti-homosexual theme: it has been played loudly in the pages of *American Opinion* magazine. Medford Evans' *American Opinion* article, "There's No Such Thing as a Good Fairy" (April 1977) was typical; Evans began by equating homosexuality with death and extended his metaphor to include cannibalism and Murder, Inc.

But from the "responsible Right"—conservatives of such varying hues as George Will, James J. Kilpatrick, Jeffrey Hart, *NATIONAL REVIEW*, and Max Rafferty; or, on the local level, in the editorial columns of the *Richmond News-Leader*—there has echoed a similar chorus. While lacking the thundering *Weltschmerz*, the Wagnerian abandon, of the Birchers, these more respectable conservatives have played variations on a similar melodic line. With ironic counterpoint, those who have argued so effectively against government intrusion into the lives of citizens were quite willing to let the government legislate the lives of *some* citizens, the country's homosexuals.

Sexual preference—who sleeps with whom in private—has rarely been, except in the case of a few political scandals, a major issue in American national political debate. It has, wisely, been regarded an issue best left to individuals and their bedrooms.

But suddenly, last summer, the situation changed markedly in the furor that erupted in Miami over the passage of a Dade County ordinance prohibiting discrimination against homosexuals in jobs and housing. Indeed, thoughtful conservatives might have noted at that time that had there been no law intruding upon the private sexual lives of the citizens in that state, there would have been no point in passing such an ordinance in the first place. That view, needless to say, was not in evidence. The situation worsened as citrus industry spokeswoman Anita Bryant mounted an emotional campaign to revoke the new ordinance in a specially called election. Her campaign attracted many conservatives, particularly those with strong religious convictions. Her group's subsequent victory in the balloting contained only one surprise for any conservative political observer—and that was that the homosexual cause received as much of the vote as it did, about one-third. Florida, after all, had regularly voted for the fiery populist-segregationist George Wallace in his various presidential forays. And in his last campaign, in 1976, they had turned to the smoother, more tranquilizing, but no less evangelical, savior from Plains.

Nearly all the nation's prominent conservative political

pundits backed Anita Bryant's campaign to one degree or another. Even James J. Kilpatrick, who in 1965 in his syndicated column had urged repeal of state laws against homosexuality, fudged noticeably in his *60 Minutes* "counterpoint," saying "this group has no special rights under the Constitution." He neglected to specify whether he thought they had *any* rights under it. In the weeks following the vote, only Ralph de Toledano again urged that state legislatures reconsider outmoded laws that make sexual behavior a criminal offense. For the most part, conservatives skirted (no pun intended) the larger question of citizen privacy raised by the homosexual issue.

What I suggest is that, generally speaking, the conservative commentary about homosexuality was characterized not by rationality (perhaps difficult for a heterosexual to achieve on this issue) but more often by emotional response. The formerly thoughtful pages of the *Richmond News-Leader* are a case in point. Its editorial page now regularly fulminates about homosexuality, even lapsing at times into such journalistic vulgarities as the editorial lisp, as it did when writing of Chip Carter's appearance at a gay-sponsored tricycle race in San Francisco during the

HOMOSEXUALITY

*isn't a question of choice,
despite what Viguerie, Bryant,
and Schlafly may believe*

last presidential campaign. "Thwell!" was the *News-Leader's* thoughtfully considered response. Its editorial pages also regularly invoke the epithet "queer" when discussing homosexual issues. The paper's commentary on the case of Sergeant Leonard Matlovich, the Air Force man discharged for his homosexuality, clearly was an instance of an editorialist seizing the small issue and failing to perceive larger ironies. The paper complimented the Air Force for discharging Matlovich (at that time, dishonorably) even though he was a decorated veteran of the Vietnam War. Yet, at the same time, the Federal Government was indulging itself in various programs of repatriation for draft dodgers and deserters of that same conflict. In the rush to condemn the sergeant whose fatal flaw had been to tell the truth about himself, the Virginia paper remained blind to far more significant truths—the discrepancies in federal policy.

I mention this instance simply because I think it illustrates that there are often far more complex ways of looking at these sexual issues than are being perceived—or employed, whichever may be the case—by most conservative commentators. Certainly questions of citizen privacy are involved in these sex-related matters, a concern that should elicit at least some conservative sympathy. In the Matlovich case, there was another issue about which I have seen no comment at all by conservatives. We might well ask ourselves: Should a citizen, a homosexual citizen, be deprived of the privilege (and most conservatives still believe it is a privilege, I think) of serving his country in the armed forces? At issue here, of course, is a basic

ideal of many conservatives, that of patriotism. Ultimately, too, conservatives must face up to the question of how far religion as practiced by a few can be allowed to intrude upon the legislative process before that intrusion infringes on everyone else's lives.

Too often conservatives have accepted (and repeated) the views of religious fundamentalists about homosexuality. Even NATIONAL REVIEW (with its recent items about some obscure British paedophile league) conjures up erroneously created fears about child molestation, when data show that most child molestation is by heterosexuals and virtually all child abuse is at the hands of angry parents. As for the "sin" argument, it is perhaps historically interesting, but many churches are beginning to reconsider their views about homosexuality, and, anyway, it should have little political consequence. In this country one man's sin has always been the next man's freedom. Those who suggest homosexuality will destroy the family overlook the obvious: inflation, which has sent ever-increasing numbers of wives into employment, has far more to do with changing the structure of family life than does homosexuality. It is, I suggest, no more necessary for conservatives to be anti-homosexual than it is for them to be pro-homosexual. There still exists a need, however, for a more thoughtful and less emotional evaluation of this issue by the Right.

THERE ARE ALSO pragmatic political questions involved in this touchy issue. Many members of the conservative movement today would use homosexuality as an emotional rallying point for various candidates and causes. Governor Meldrim Thomson of New Hampshire attempted to do this during the 1976 presidential primaries with pamphlets he sent out in behalf of Governor Reagan's candidacy. The brochures carried his own anti-homosexual views, which had not, incidentally, been developed or utilized by Reagan's own campaign staff.

The Richard Viguerie organization, big in conservative fund-raising operations, has recently brought up the same issue. The August 1977 issue of its *Conservative Digest* carried an interview with Mike Thompson, chairman of the Florida Conservative Union, entitled "Anita Bryant's Crusade: Where Next?" Thompson, who had served as "communications director" for Miss Bryant's "Save Our Children" anti-homosexual crusade, urges the Republican Party to take up an anti-gay policy nationally and "position itself as the party of the family." He argues that "You're either going to encourage a homosexual lifestyle or you're going to discourage it." Here Thompson has the disadvantage of most heterosexuals writing about homosexuality: he simply doesn't know how it works. Homosexuality isn't a question of choice, despite what he, Bryant, and Phyllis Schlafly may believe. One can no more "encourage" sexual preference than "discourage" it. Most reliable social-scientific evidence today seems to indicate that the homosexual percentage of a given population is fairly constant, generally about 10 per cent.

But Thompson is also raising that frequently invoked question of "legitimacy" for homosexuals. Most homosexuals want no more than what other citizens want: to argue that granting this group basic constitutional protections will

somehow "legitimize" their lifestyle, is absurd. When 15 to 20 million persons are living a particular lifestyle, that group already has the "legitimacy" of its own existence. No amount of morally inspired wishful thinking or legislation will change that fact any more than Prohibition produced a nation of teetotalers. All the "gay" teachers in the world proclaiming their sexuality to their classes daily would not serve to "recruit" a single heterosexual youth to their ranks. But Thompson, like many who use these arguments, sees this issue as a means to a political end: "This is a chance for the Republican Party to take leadership in a popular issue," he writes. It is to be hoped that intelligent conservatives can resist such "leadership."

All of which brings us back to George A. Young—all of them. Conservatives must recognize, as many of the more simplistic among us, like Mr. Thompson, fail to do, that some issues are better left alone. Most heterosexuals, and nearly all conservatives I know, fail to recognize the dimensions of this issue. For the conservative movement to seize upon an emotional anti-gay response in either local or national political campaigns is to take an action that easily could cut two ways. It could antagonize as many as it would attract. Out there among the 15 to 20 million are a lot of George A. Youngs who are, by inclination, status, even political conviction, basically conservative. Their sex life—so far, at any rate—really has very little to do with the way they vote. It probably won't *unless* someone makes it a crucial political issue for them.

A number of years ago, when I was an editorial-page writer for the *Richmond News-Leader*, I covered some civil rights demonstrations in various remote areas of Alabama. On one such trip, after a long day driving on dusty back roads and walking across cotton fields talking with blacks,

ABUSE

*of a minority, no matter how
unpopular, is no service
to the conservative cause*

local sheriffs, and civil rights activists, I returned to a small community with an acquaintance who had been serving as that essential aid for every journalist on the road, his local contact. He was, it turned out, a John Bircher. Late that afternoon he took me to the home of two elderly gentlemen for a much-needed restorative drink. They were retired antique dealers, and, just before we went into their superbly furnished home, he told me that they too were members of the John Birch Society. But he added, *sotto voce*, "I think that they're . . . well, you know, a bit on the gay side." I have recalled that event many times in recent months. I keep wondering how those two gracious hosts must have reacted to the *American Opinion* article "There's No Such Thing as a Good Fairy," if they were still alive to read it last spring. And when Pat Buchanan speaks of stigmatizing, controlling, and segregating, I wonder if he has in mind all those members of YAF whose letters turn up in the columns of the West Coast homosexual newspaper, *The Advocate*. To put it bluntly, for

conservatives to make an anti-gay stand part of their national program is to risk causing all homosexual voters to become—out of necessity—one-issue voters. There is no political pundit around who can say for certain what that means.

I recall once, when I was working for James J. Kilpatrick, he took me to task for a rather scathing editorial I had written about the civil rights movement in Virginia. It was, he told me, a hard-hitting piece, but it lacked “compassion.” It was a bit of advice from a writer I respect, and I never forgot it. That compassion is what is missing from many conservatives’ approach to the homosexual issue. Abuse of a minority, no matter how unpopular that group may be with the majority, is no service to

the conservative cause, because politics—regardless of some people’s wishful thinking—is not an either-or, pro-con situation.

There’s a scene in Mart Crowley’s 1968 play about homosexuals, *The Boys in the Band*, from which conservatives might learn. Near the final curtain, the main character, a Mississippian named Michael who now lives in New York, states the problem many homosexuals felt in 1968: “If we could just learn,” he says, “not to hate ourselves quite so very much.” It is something most homosexuals have learned in the years since that play was first produced. And it is a thought that conservatives, viewing homosexuals in the nation and, indeed, in their own movement, well might ponder. □

II. Capital M

M. J. SOBRAN JR.

NO DOUBT ABOUT IT, conservatives have been somewhat overwrought on this issue, and less articulate than they might be. If the question before us were as simple as whether homosexuality ought to be a crime, I think the confusion might be dispelled quickly. For my part, I agree with Mr. Real—and with Mr. Kilpatrick, who presumably hasn’t changed his mind since 1965—that it should not be punished with criminal sanctions. Abstractly speaking, and waiving considerations of liberty and prudence, it probably makes more sense to outlaw fornication and adultery (which after all lead to bastardy and abortion) than sodomy. But we aren’t here to discuss that. For better or worse, the government has now left the bedroom, if only to meddle in the kitchen. Its working philosophy seems to be, “Sodomy, *sí*—saccharin, *no*.”

I take my own bearings in this matter from personal experience. I remember, for instance, an English instructor, now dead, whom I knew in college. I have no warrant to drag his remains out of the closet, but it was widely understood that Harry (not his real name) was a homosexual. He was a good-natured, witty, effeminate man, a bit vain perhaps, loquacious, a histrionic mimic, who affected a lisp; I think everyone who knew him liked him well enough. A close friend of mine shared an office with him and was very fond of him; and now and again Bob (his real name) would make some light allusion to Harry’s peculiar taste. No malice in it; he wouldn’t have let Harry hear it, though, for the world. The kind of little joke you make about a friend’s foibles: affectionate, but realistic: as you might smile about his drinking or his improvidence. Bob’s way of regarding Harry always struck me as the very model of a sane and civilized attitude. He had his own standards, but no censorious eagerness to assert them unnecessarily at the expense of others’ feelings.

Yes. Charity by all means. But may I say that those of us who have opposed the “gay rights” movement—which arose *after* many of us had already piped up for decriminalization—have suffered insults too? that we have been accused of wholesale bigotry? that we are often lumped together not only with Anita Bryant and the John Birch

Society, but even with Nazis and Communists? This is what might be called guilt by free association. But tempers are high, and there is no law against vituperation, so abuse there will be. Nobody can stop it all, and nobody on either side should be made to answer for more than his share of it. Mr. Real himself quotes Mr. Kilpatrick as saying that homosexuals have, under the Constitution, “no special rights,” which leads him to ask whether Kilpatrick thinks they have *any* rights. Why should that be in question? Has Kilpatrick said that homosexuals should be arrested without warrant, or imprisoned without trial? Given his 1965 statement, it seems low and facile to read “no special rights” as a virtual denial of all the rights we commonly enjoy.

As for jokes about homosexuality, I can’t see that they are any more reprehensible than jokes about drunkards or misers. People make fun of our vices; they make fun even of what we like to think of as our virtues. It is hardly reasonable to ask others to accept our own self-evaluations as authoritative. And if I choose to stake my dignity on an aspect of myself I know they disapprove of, I can hardly complain of their contempt. The goals of most of the militant capital-M Minorities might be best secured by a general prohibition against humor; sometimes I think they have nearly succeeded already.

Meanwhile, there is a good deal of semantic legerdemain going on. The majority is constantly being put on the defensive with grandiose accusations of racism, sexism, bigotry, and the like; and those who go much further in this than Mr. Real would dream of going typically charge us with genocidal hostility toward them (the Dade County homosexuals compared themselves to Jews in Hitler’s Germany) even as they demand that we watch our nuances. Of course we should watch our jokes and our nuances for our own reasons, which should include consideration for people of homosexual inclination. As Mr. Real suggests, it would be cheap and bullying for conservatives to seek political capital on the basis of mere righteous membership in the sexual majority. Homosexuals have no special rights, but they have rights. That they themselves define those rights badly does not excuse us from defining them exactly.

The bad semantics, unfortunately, aren't confined to the gay rights movement. It was the prototype of that movement, the Negro civil rights movement, that introduced a serious verbal corruption into our public discourse. The phrase "civil rights" used to mean legal protections of the citizen *against the state*. The Bill of Rights, for instance, enumerates limitations on the (Federal) Government's power over the citizen. But more recently the term has been used to mean protection of citizen against citizen; guarantees not against oppressive political action, but against free social action; guarantees secured—above all—by an actual increase in state jurisdiction. In what sense can we be said to have more "civil" rights than before, when the government in fact has more authority over us than ever?

If we really think justice requires that our civil rights and social freedoms be abridged, we shouldn't shrink from saying so. It may be wrong for us to be legally free to

EVERYONE

*senses that "civil rights" has
become a code-word
for government favoritism*

discriminate against blacks (as it is wrong for us to be legally free to murder them). But in that case we should forthrightly diminish or abolish the freedom without talking as if the sum total of our freedom has somehow been thereby enlarged. Justice, freedom, civil rights, and the interests of Negroes are all good things. But they are not all the *same* thing. And we should avoid using these distinct—and sometimes incompatible—terms as if they were interchangeable.

I think that as a matter of simple fact everyone senses that "civil rights," ostensibly a neutral term, has become a tendentious code-word for government favoritism. Far from signifying a general increase in American freedom, it now refers to a set of limitations placed by the government on the private (non-governmental) actions of the white majority for the sake of blacks. The average white American doesn't feel that "civil rights" means *him*. The rise of affirmative action has exposed the specious universalism of "civil rights." Recently I ran across an article in *Time* that brushed off objections to affirmative action programs by impatiently pointing out that the whole purpose of the 1964 Civil Rights Act was, after all, to "protect blacks." At one level, of course, it *has* protected them, by giving them the same kind of recourse against private discrimination that they have against private assault. Whether this is proper or not, it has not increased even the Negro's *civil* rights, since he has no more freedom vis-à-vis the state than the white; at this level, he too has lost, at least in principle, though he may feel it less in comparison with his particular benefits.

The black rights movement began as a struggle against state discrimination; at that time it became known, rationally enough, as the civil rights movement. Unfortunately for terminological clarity, the name stuck even when the quest for racial justice became an attack on private targets;

and today the demands of organized Negro groups for state interference in hitherto undisturbed areas (like private clubs) are routinely referred to as "civil rights" causes even by reporters conscientiously straining to be objective.

GIVEN THE LOPSIDED history of that term, it is no wonder people are now wary of "gay rights." Most Americans take a live-and-let-live view of things they disapprove of. The harassment of homosexuals has surely decreased in the last few years. But what can "gay rights" mean, unless special rights for homosexuals? Even assuming that it is right for the state not only to tolerate homosexuality but also to forbid anti-homosexual discrimination, can Mr. Real reasonably expect us to assume that this movement will, unlike its civil rights model, evanesce when its first demands are conceded? Isn't it more prudent to fear that this is just the beginning of yet another bottomless commitment to a pressure group full of the sense of its own victimization? a commitment leading to more privileges for the few and regulations on the many, all in the name of *affirmative action* and *righting historical wrongs* and *consciousness raising* and *dispelling stereotypes*? San Francisco's schools are already adopting textbooks giving quasi-official sanction to homosexuality as an *alternative lifestyle*.

Of course (as we are always reminded) none of this necessarily follows. It *doesn't* follow—not in abstract logic. But it seems to follow in fact. The 1964 Civil Rights Act was supposed to outlaw racial criteria, but it has been used instead to federalize them. Hopes and intentions are one thing, probable results another. (I think of the way Anthony Lewis told us that Cambodian Communism might be different—we should wait and see. Same with Eurocommunism.) I know Mr. Real doesn't intend the abuses I contemplate. But the fact is that the gay rights movement isn't led or dominated by his quiet conservative homosexuals who run small businesses; and even if it were, they wouldn't be the ones to administer its "reforms."

The pretense that all we are establishing is an official "neutrality" is always the first step in the establishment of secularist orthodoxies. The editor of this journal years ago analyzed the real tendency of "academic freedom." I have mentioned "civil rights." To take only one more example, consider abortion. Just as we would be free to disapprove of homosexuality "personally," so we are still free to disapprove of abortion—while our government not only tolerates it but subsidizes it. We are free to think as we will on all sorts of things; we may think, if we like, that our dogs are animated by the transmigrated souls of our ancestors. But such beliefs haven't the slightest influence on those who govern us and collect and redistribute a sizable share of our wealth.

The puritan heresy is that whatever is immoral should be illegal. Our secularism is a kind of reverse puritanism that holds that whatever should be legal must also be moral. Hester Prynne nowadays sews on her own A and announces that it stands for Alternative (as in Lifestyle). And because we believe in separating church and state, we are supposed to regard as discredited any morality that can be shown to have a religious provenance. Mr. Real gently derides the idea that homosexuality is a quote-sin-unquote, and says

we must "face up to the question of how far religion as practiced by a few can be allowed to intrude upon the legislative process before that intrusion infringes upon everyone else's lives."

He has a point. Surely it is true that few if any children will be made homosexual by the opinions of their teachers. If a child turns out homosexual it is much more likely his parents' fault than his teachers'. All the same, do we want our children taught in school that homosexuality is merely an "alternative lifestyle," or any such cant? I don't know that marijuana is medically deleterious, but I don't want its consumption advocated in school. It violates my sense of the fitness of things, and its pedagogical advocacy violates my understanding of what a school is for. As long as education is public, I will care what it promotes at my expense. That a child can survive the teaching of moral and intellectual nonsense is no reason to tolerate nonsense in such an institution.

Yes, I too worry about the imposition of a narrow religion. But I worry equally—no, under the circumstances, I worry much more—about the imposition of a narrow irreligion. Why should we always turn to the doctrinaire atheist as the final arbiter of our public morals? He may have his own peculiar metaphysic. As a matter of fact, the prevailing secularism probably traces to religion of some kind—it strikes me as the offspring of Unitarian Universalism. But I am less concerned with its origins than with its nature. I prefer old-fashioned Catholics, Jews, Moslems, and, yes, Anita Bryant as moral preceptors, if the alternative is a class of people who hold that sexual morality reduces to mere immediate preference, and that whether one chooses a male or female, a permanent or transitory partner is a matter of indifference. I prefer an English teacher who exalts Shakespeare over one who exalts Edgar Guest, if I have the choice. But I would a thousand times prefer a teacher who thought Edgar Guest the greatest poet who ever lived, over one who taught that poetry was "subjective," and that there are no distinctions of poetic value.

THE GAY RIGHTS movement hasn't refined our moral sense. On the contrary, it seems to be, more than it knows, "against discrimination." It offers no models of sexual conduct. It comes with a flood of pornography and promiscuity, against which it offers not the least audible protest. It seems part of the whole phenomenon of rejecting all standards as silly superstition like quote-sin-unquote. That is why, by the way, it is important to distinguish between the movement and the discreet individual homosexual, whose privacy we should respect without condoning his behavior. If any homosexual resents that attitude, I am afraid he is making greater demands on me than I would make on him.

The First Amendment hardly forbids people to hold and act on their creeds, even when they vote and discuss public questions. It merely forbids them to impose their creeds formally on others. If I am a Catholic, am I to suspend my conviction that abortion is something that is wrong and ought to be forbidden? More to the point, if I am an atheist, am I to suspend the same conviction merely because many who share it get it from the Pope? Many people oppose murder and theft because the law of Moses

proscribed them; but that is no argument for legalizing murder and theft. A similar point might be made about slavery. And so on.

The purpose of the First Amendment was to guarantee freedom of religion. If it includes freedom *from* religion, it also includes freedom *for* it. Yet many people talk, in the name of that Amendment, as if it had somehow made religion a bit disreputable; as if it meant especially the freedom of unbelievers, in the full sense of freedom to *establish* unbelief—to exclude religion from public places, while leaving us free to propagate any beliefs, values, and morals, provided they don't refer explicitly to the supernatural. If one teacher preached the Baptist faith in a public school, and another preached atheism, is there any doubt which of the two our civil libertarians would rally behind, which they would litigate against?

If I read Mr. Real correctly, he shares the widespread

MILLINERS

have rights, don't they? Of course. Shall we have a law, then, against anti-millinerism?

belief that sexual morality is entirely "private"—i.e., that there is no impersonal standard by which different kinds of sexual behavior can be "graded." He seems able to conceive such a standard only as an arbitrary divine mandate. Like the fundamentalist, he thinks that Revelation alone can give us a sexual code; except that he, unlike the fundamentalist, doubts that there has been any Revelation, and holds that even if there has, we *qua* citizens are debarred from consulting it. Here is an odd twist to the principle *sola scriptura*!

Liberty means private discretion. Private discretion implies the possibility of irrationality and unfairness. If I have free speech, I am equally free to utter wisdom or folly. If I have economic freedom, I can choose to have commercial transactions with anyone I like, according to such criteria, wise or foolish, as seem appropriate to me. That many criteria seem foolish and unfair on the face of them does not mean the state should forbid anyone to use them. For one thing, they may under peculiar conditions be rational. For another, there are too many irrational criteria for the state to prohibit them all, even assuming that it is the state's business and competence to judge. I might, for wholly idiosyncratic reasons, decide not to rent a room to a milliner. And don't milliners have rights? Of course they do. Shall we have a law, then, against anti-millinerism? Preposterous. But why protect homosexuals and not milliners—or students, or left-handed people, or midgets?

Far from being singled out by the population at large, homosexuals are being singled out by the movement that claims to speak for them and demands that they be favored with a protection accorded to few other categories of people. Their putative spokesmen are demanding official Minority status. It is not a demand for freedom or even for equal treatment, but for privilege at the expense of everyone else's freedom. Only deceitful (and self-

(Continues on page 361)

Push-Button Unionism?

The Lawmakers

M. STANTON EVANS

IT HAS DAWNED on most observers of the political process that the labor reform bill pending before the Senate (S-1883) is something other than a true reform.

As numerous critics of the bill have shown, its major effect would be to tilt the labor-management equation even more decisively in favor of the unions than is now the case. By arranging for hurry-up certification elections, permitting union organizers to campaign on company time (and property), and imposing punitive damages on employers, the legislation amply earns the sobriquet applied to it by Senator Orrin Hatch of Utah—a bill for “push-button unionism.”

The reasons for such a proposal are not mysterious. Under existing rules and regulations, organized labor is having trouble keeping the members it has, not to mention obtaining new ones. In 1976, the unions lost more representation elections than they won (4,479 to 4,159). Between 1974 and 1976, they sustained a net decrease of 767,000 members, the first decline in absolute numbers in living memory. Total membership in unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO (about 13.5 million) is down to less than 20 per cent of the labor force, compared to 26 per cent in the 1950s.

Fighting the Numbers

Faced with this adverse arithmetic, the union leaders unsurprisingly want a law that will dragoon new members into their ranks, saving them the trouble of earning the allegiance of the workers. Why the Congress should go along with such a project, after having turned thumbs down on the lesser offense of common situs picketing, is less immediately understandable, except on the premise that the unions are entitled to some kind of consolation prize. Far

better that the impulse to “reform,” if such it actually is, find expression in a law that would protect the rights of individual working-men and -women.

Fortunately, such legislation has already been introduced—by Hatch and Senator Tower of Texas in the upper chamber (S-1855) and by Representatives John M. Ashbrook of Ohio and John Erlenborn of Illinois in the House (HR-8269). The title of this legislation is the Employee Bill of Rights Act, which seems to be an apt summation of its purposes. The object of the bill, embracing seven major revisions of the Taft-Hartley Act, is to protect the procedural and substantive freedoms of employees in the bargaining process, rather than simply jacking up the membership of the unions.

In particular, the bill attempts to make certain that the worker's decision to join or not to join a union is authentically a free one. To this end, it would ensure that the union bargaining process would not be launched until a secret ballot election had occurred to choose a bargaining representative; that no union could impose a fine or threaten to impose a fine on any worker for exercising rights assured by the existing labor law; and that votes to launch, continue, or end a strike would be conducted by secret ballot.

In addition, the bill would protect the rights to free speech of all participants in a representation election, so long as the statements made were neither threats nor bribes; throw the weight of the law in favor of conciliatory and voluntary settlement of labor disputes; guarantee the right of employees not to have their compulsory dues money used for political purposes; and safeguard the rights of employees to refrain from union activity if such activity is offensive to their religious beliefs.

Under existing law, as Ashbrook

says, “the rights of employees have been subservient to the struggles and conflicts between big labor and big business. The text of this bill attempts to alleviate that subservience and restore the individual employees as the proper masters and proper recipients of rights and attention in collective bargaining. This is not a bill conceived by organized labor. This is not a bill conceived by business. This is a bill conceived by those of us who fear that both organized labor and big business have failed to protect employees' rights.”

Such efforts to release the worker from constraint are usually met, of course, with the objection of “free-ridership.” Since the unions are required by law to bargain for all employees in a certified unit, the argument runs, it is only fair that all the workers help to pay the freight: no one is entitled to a “free ride” on the union. Hence the justification for compulsory union membership or, at a minimum, compulsory dues.

No Free Rides

Responding to this argument, Senator Hatch has another proposal at the ready which may prove to be the master labor reform bill of them all. This legislation (S-1830) would eliminate the “exclusive bargaining agent” provision of Taft-Hartley—the section of the law which requires a certified union to serve as the bargaining agent for all employees. Under Hatch's revision, a certified union would be obliged to bargain *only* for its members, and not for anybody else. Non-members would be permitted to bargain directly for themselves.

This proposal would at a stroke relieve the unions of the onerous duty of which they have complained, and end the quibbling about compulsion. Since no one would be free-riding on the union, there would be no reason for compulsory membership or dues. The arrangement, as Hatch puts it, would “ensure fairness to labor organizations”; it would also safeguard the rights of individual workers. The compulsory evil in our labor laws would be corrected at the source. Free decision would be the rule, paving the way for other reforms that emphasize voluntary action. □

Life After Death

SINCE THE EARLY Seventies a number of reputable psychiatrists and psychologists have sought the answer to the question: Is there life after death? Their proposal was, not to establish or confirm religious belief in immortality, but to develop a rational and scientific proof of such life.

They chose two categories of human beings: the terminally ill, and those who, having been pronounced clinically dead (cessation of heartbeat and of all brain activity), were resuscitated and returned to normal physical life. Their methods have been taken as unexceptionable, the facts they established as incontrovertible, their reporting as meticulous. Yet nothing in their findings provides the slightest reason for one to conclude that the spirit or soul of the individual continues on after bodily death.

These researches are part and parcel of a new vogue that started at the end of the last decade: thanatology, or the study of death and dying. Thanatologists set out to study the phases through which a dying person passes. Their purpose was to ease the pain of dying and to enable people to "die with dignity." Courses in thanatology were taken by a large number of clergy as well as laymen.

The Weight of the Soul

In the past two years the results of much of this research have been published. Briefly, the facts uncovered are as follows: A certain number of men, women, and children of different ages, living in different places, without any knowledge of each other, and whose clinical deaths were due to a variety of causes, have had astounding—and strikingly similar—experiences. After clinical

Out of This World

MALACHI B. MARTIN

death, they say, they rose out of their bodies, saw the hospital personnel or family members who had been in the room with them, went on a mysterious journey, encountered some ineffably gentle personality, then returned to their bodies and displayed once more all the vital signs of life.

One researcher measured the loss of body-weight at death and found it to be one-third to one-half of an ounce (presumably the weight of the soul). Early researchers had photographed a cloud-like object ascending from the body, which they claimed was the soul. Sunn Classic Pictures released *Beyond and Back*, in which all this was presented as a gripping thriller.

There are two fatal flaws in all such research, two logical fallacies which provide a devastating commentary on the objectivity of these researchers. First, their point of departure was clinical death; that in itself means that all their work was based upon a self-serving assumption. They assumed that the absence of heartbeat and brain activity meant death had taken place. This is as arbitrary and fateful as assuming that Jews, or fetuses, are non-persons—in each case, once you have made that assumption you can do what you like with them. As scientists these researchers were bound, first of all, not to choose a convenient definition of death, but to prove scientifically what death is and that the subjects of their researches had died that death. Now, unless we have someone who has genuinely died, and then returned to tell us all about it, we have learned nothing about what happens after death.

The second flaw is in their conclusions. Here we see these researchers committing what for a scientist is a mortal sin: going beyond verified evidence. Their subjects were a relatively small group—not more than a couple of thousand. From that evidence, the only truly scientific conclusion you can come to is that these people all had similar thoughts, images, feelings . . . On that basis can you extend your other "scientific conclusions" to billions of people? In fact, to all people?

Actually, for every one of these re-

suscitated people there are many more thousands who were similarly brought back from death and who had no such experiences. So, statistically, we should conclude that the subjects of this research were exceptions to the rule and we should seek a rational explanation of their experiences in their several characters and lives, in their hopes and their imaginations.

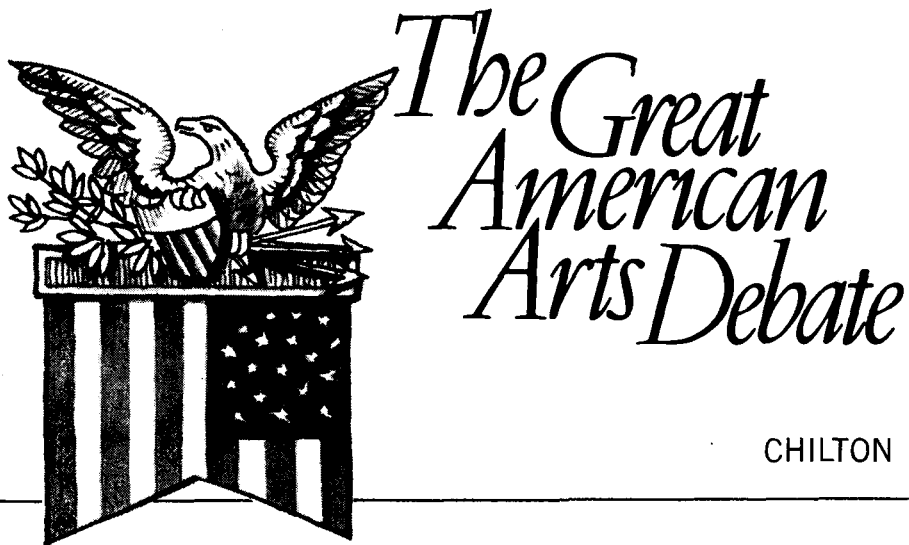
What We Can Know

Apart from pointing out these serious scientific flaws, there is one other comment to be made. The psychiatrist who tries to delve into death and dying is on tricky ground. And the results can be disastrous. Already several who tried to research this twilight area have had to seek another kind of therapy at the hands of those who specialize in matters of the spirit. One of the most prominent experts on death and dying, on her own testimony, is accompanied by what she calls a "spook" (his name: Willie). In the traditional language of demonology, we would have said she is now in the hands of a "familiar." The presence of the familiar is one of the last steps before what was classically called demonic possession.

Psychiatrists would be well advised to avoid entanglements in an area where they have no competence, and where the results of unprofessional intervention are dire. Among the saddest cases a professional exorcist undertakes is to help psychiatrists or psychologists who have ventured beyond their professional limits and fallen afoul of forces they did not suspect existed, and whose cunning they could not fathom. One of the major difficulties for theologians concerns the authentication of a proposed religious message and of the messenger. At best the message of those chosen as subjects by the thanatologists is useless as proof of a future life.

One man, Jesus, died and came back to inform us about that afterlife. The Christian message has been clear since the day Jesus died without dignity: that He died truly and rose actually from the dead; and that this is historical fact. And the fact is, further, that we can know this only by faith. □

Books Arts & Manners



CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

FOR THE PAST YEAR the Chief Executive of the United States of America has considered policy and signed bills to the strains of Wagner, Puccini, Rachmaninoff, and Amy Carter's violin, and to the cerebral hum of the country's First Family as it gravely consumes the works of Tolstoy and Dylan Thomas. According to White House aides, the President listens to classical recordings eight to ten hours a day; according to Mr. Carter, he and his family have for years been in the habit of analyzing a poem a week. ("A poem a day keeps Republicans away.") The Capital is the seat of the American Renaissance; if Sinclair Lewis were alive today, his livelihood would hang on the safe passage of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill. At long last, Pennsylvania Avenue aspires to rise above Main Street.

The general effect of this cultural grease upon the workings of government is problematical: would one be comforted or further discouraged to learn that President Carter signed the Panama Canal treaties a quarter of an hour after listening to the Immolation Scene from *Götterdämmerung*? No matter, really; the fact remains that the President wishes the nation to know that his spinning LPs are the flywheels of the mechanism he is building to power the arts in America. "Cultural affairs are receiving more responsible attention in the Carter White House than at any time since Thomas Jefferson," Barry Jagoda, the White House spokesman for the Administration's arts and humanities policies, told the press last August. "I am surprised that those citizens concerned with cultural affairs have not recognized that leap forward in attention from the White House." What those interested citizens cannot possibly have missed is that the federal budget for 1979 proposes an increase of \$51 million for the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities—the biggest annual increase in the history of the two federal agencies.

This unequivocal expression of the President's solicitousness for the life of the mind in America must ravish the spirits of Joan Mondale, the Administration's factotum for the arts; of Senator Claiborne Pell (D., R.I.), who helped draft the legislation that created the NEA and NEH in 1965; of Representative John Brademas (D., Ind.), notori-

ous for his squishy-softness on the arts; and of Messrs. Joseph D. Duffey and Livingston L. Biddle, the President's newly appointed Chairmen of the NEH and NEA respectively. On the other hand, plenty of people—by no means most of whom believe that the arts and humanities ought to be left to fend for themselves without the aid of federal subsidies—view with alarm and some disgust the attentions that President Carter is lavishing upon the Endowments. They think the whole business is a political ploy.

WHEN CARTER ASSUMED office, he let it be known that the NEH had been badly manhandled by Ronald Berman, the Republicans' man, and that the NEA, while admirably administered by Nancy Hanks (no one in Washington, including a President, may breathe a word against Nancy Hanks), was badly in need of some fresh blood—in other words, no third term. Carter's stance put him firmly on the side of Senator Pell, who had successfully blocked Berman's re-appointment, and thus aligned him in the Great American Arts Debate with the so-called "populist" faction, which thinks that the NEH under Berman was devoted too exclusively to underwriting "elitist" intellectual enterprises. Of course, it aligned him also with the Democratic Party. For when Carter appointed Joe Duffey chairman of the NEH and Livingston L. Biddle chairman of the NEA, suspicions of partisanship were compounded in the minds of cynics by suspicions of cronyism: Duffey is a former Baptist minister and an early Carter supporter in Connecticut, while Biddle is a former prep-school and college classmate of Senator Pell. Opposition to this sort of political coziness was offered by Democrats as well as Republicans. Michael Straight, formerly editor of *The New Republic* and for eight years Nancy Hanks's deputy director at NEA, accused the Administration of "politicizing" the Endowments. Of Duffey, Straight observed last October: "He has no credentials in the academic world; his credentials are that when he ran for the Senate in Connecticut he came out for President Carter." Straight described the ousting of Berman as "a highly political act in relation to a non-political agency"; the appointment of Biddle as his successor was obviously

THIS IS A ONCE-IN-A-BLUE-MOON OFFER!

RIGHT NOW

**You Can Get 32 Weeks of
National Review For Slightly Less
than 32¢ a Week** *(you can't beat that)*

NEW SUBSCRIBERS

This special offer is, of course, for new subscribers: we want to introduce as many people as possible to *National Review* now—so they too get NR's exciting coverage of the important events months ahead.

That's why, if you aren't already a regular subscriber, by all means take this opportunity to subscribe today. You get the next 16 big issues (32 weeks) of *National Review* for just \$9.95, or slightly less than 32¢ a week. It's a bargain rate for some of the best available reporting in America today. Simply use the handy card opposite this page now.

WHAT TO DO IF YOU ALREADY SUBSCRIBE

Let your friends take advantage of this stunning offer. Tell them about it. Give some friend of yours the postpaid reply card and urge him to subscribe (our best ad is *your* recommendation!).

Or, better yet, use the card yourself to give a gift subscription, at this *very special* introductory rate, to someone you know who would enjoy it. Can you think of a better time to give NR? No magazine in America is better prepared to talk to the point about the important issues coming up fast (Panama, Energy, Abortion, Gay Lib, and much more) and how they affect *you*. In fact, issue after issue, *National Review* brings you the kind of inside information you can't get elsewhere; the kind of special coverage that makes it one of the most quoted magazines in America.

Send No Money Now

*No need to send any money now—we'll be glad to bill you later if you prefer. The important thing is to use the card facing this page today. We don't want you (or your friends) to miss a single one of the big features we have coming up in the months ahead. The card needs no stamp. Just fill it out, drop it in the mail, and we'll start **National Review** coming immediately. Many thanks.*

"political." Recalling perhaps a memo sent by Jagoda to the presidential search committee that finally settled on Duffey—in which he suggested that the "new chairman should probably be familiar to organized labor, ethnic organizations, community and junior college organizations, and principal educational broadcasters . . ."—Straight also deplored the attempts of pressure groups representing blacks, women, and performing artists' unions "to put government funding of the arts on a quota basis." Arthur Schlesinger Jr. too was publicly appalled by the blatancy of the appointments to the Endowments. But through it all, Liv Biddle, for one, smiled serenely, and murmured: "Politics is one of the great humanities."

The charge that President Carter is playing politics with the arts goes far beyond the staffing of federal agencies. Indeed, the President's "populist" notion of the proper relationship between arts—and artists—and the Federal Government, and between the arts and the nation itself, is inherently political, insofar as it requires giving as many people as much money as possible under a scheme of subsidization so uncritical and eclectic as to be sheer porkbarrel. "The main purpose of the Endowment," Jagoda declared last August, "is to touch the lives of ordinary citizens and put them in touch with the values and ethics of contemporary life." Carter did not seek to disguise his intention to select Endowment chairmen who shared his attitude toward the support of American arts and letters, and it is scarcely surprising that the opinions of his new appointees are precisely in accord with those of the Boss.

THE NEH, Biddle observed of Mr. Duffey's agency, "really needs to think about how the humanities relate to the country at large rather than just the scholarly community. . . ." "If the arts are to prosper and flourish," he told the inquiring Robert Brustein, "their message must get out to the country." Brustein, who was writing a piece for the *New York Times*, also spoke with Duffey, and departed with the impression that "making the humanities accessible was the way he could demonstrate their social utility; this struck me as Mr. Duffey's chief enthusiasm." What this sort of rhetorical "populism" signals to the "elitists" (the people who think that federal monies ought to be reserved for high art and the most distinguished scholarship, no matter how refined and restricted their constituency) is the lamentable willingness of the Administration to listen to Senator Pell, and give grants to "grocers," "lumberjacks," and "shoemakers" to take creative sabbaticals from their mundane labors—while the Metropolitan Opera Association goes broke the Opera House is bought by the Soviet government for use by the Bolshoi Ballet, and the Chicago Museum of Fine Arts is acquired by the Grain Exchange.

RANDOM NOTES

■ MORE MARCH TITLES: Hans Küng's *Signposts for the Future* (Doubleday, \$7.95) is a summary in twenty theses intended to serve as a handbook for his book *On Being a Christian*, published last year. . . . *Protestant and Roman Catholic Ethics: Prospects for Rapprochement* (University of Chicago, \$12.50), by James M. Gustafson, examines the problem in the light of a now-fashionable ecumenicism. . . . Walter Laqueur's *A Terrorism Reader* (Meridian, \$5.95) is a collection of historical documents shedding light on the history of terrorism in the world over the past 2,500 years. It is intended partly to serve as a companion volume to Laqueur's *Terrorism*, published last fall. . . . One of the chief points in Eugene Kennedy's *Himself: The Life and Times of Mayor Richard J. Daley* (Viking, \$10.95) is that Daley was so eager for power as to make him impeccably honest when it came to money, in order that his quest for the one not be impeded by smears concerning the other.

■ MORE APRIL TITLES: *Chance and Circumstance: The Draft, the War, and the Vietnam Generation* (Knopf, \$10), by Lawrence M. Baskir and William A. Strauss, is the work of two staff members of President Ford's Presidential Clemency Board. They were put up to the job by Father Theodore Hesburgh, who was himself a member of the Board, and who has contributed an introduction to this volume. *Caveat emptor; caveat lector. . . .* J. Bowyer Bell, who knows terrorists the way a snake-charmer knows cobras, has written another book on the subject, this one called *A Time of Terror: How Democratic Societies Respond to Revolutionary Violence* (Basic, \$10.95). Bell argues rather incomprehensibly that a greater danger to society is posed by the actions of frightened and baffled governments than by those of the terrorists themselves. . . . Tatyana Tolstoy, the eldest daughter of Leo Tolstoy, died in 1950 and left behind her a moving account of her childhood, her family, her parents' marriage. The memoir is now being published under the title *Tolstoy Remembered* (McGraw-Hill, \$14.95). Derek Coltman has done the translation.

Brustein put the issue between the "elitists" and the "populists" with great clarity when he told Senator Pell: "What you are talking about, finally, is not the humanities, but a government-sponsored form of adult education." To Brustein, it seemed that "the seeds of thought and creation will be allowed to wither away in order to satisfy the aspirations of a larger constituency." Which constituency, of course, is actually two constituencies: a constituency of artists, and a constituency of art consumers. It is, moreover, a double constituency in another sense, composed as it is not only of the citizens represented in the U.S. Congress but of their elected representatives to that body, where porkbarrels roll like bowling balls.

What is astonishing, though, about the present debate is that it treats the Carter Administration's "populist" approach as if it were something new and unheard of. The President himself is apparently in thrall to this delusion. Last year, for example, Barry Jagoda remarked of the search for Berman's successor: "It has led us to a good deal of reflection on larger questions, such as the role of cultural institutions in relation to the government. . . . Somewhere down the line, we will examine the structure of the federal cultural establishment with an eye to possible changes. . . ." In fact, however, Carter and his boys at the Endowments are simply making explicit the premises on which the Endowments were originally constructed and in accordance with which they were managed by the Republicans, which is why Carter, Biddle, and Duffey are so exactly in agreement with Senator Pell, who helped design them. Thus the Act of Congress that called forth the NEH stipulates that the organization be responsible for "the study and application of the humanities to the human environment with particular attention to the relevance of the

humanities to the current conditions of national life." That's not "populism," but it certainly is Carterism. Or consider Miss Hanks, who described it as her chief aim as chairman of the NEA to encourage "a concerted effort by all elements of society . . . to assure [sic] that the arts can make a contribution to the quality of life for all Americans." The quality of life?! Clean air, fresh water, national health insurance . . . and untrammelled access to performances of the Verdi Requiem!

Carter may of course intensify the "populist" aspects of the Endowments' mission by giving less to the Metropolitan Opera and more to the state university student theater groups. (In fact, he has not got off on the right foot in this respect, having recently granted \$1.5 million to the Met to enable it to survive through its current season; this makes the Opera the largest single recipient of NEA money in the country.) But he can scarcely deepen the "populist" tinge of the Endowments' original formulation. The truth is that it is impermissible, in a democracy such as the United States, to maintain a program of federal grants to the arts and humanities that is anything *but* "populist"—and therefore, anything but political.

The reason why a democratic society must adhere to populist values in its support of the national culture lies in the nature of a democratic government's accountability to its constituency. Some commentators have compared the Carter Administration's view of the role of the Endowments to André Malraux's statement, made when he became the French Republic's first Minister of Culture. "The collectivity," Malraux said, "has now recognized its cultural mission. The masses have a right not only to schools, but also to theaters and museums. We must do for culture what Jules Ferry did for education." Shades of Claiborne Pell! But M. Malraux's opinions were more complex than Pell's, for his solicitousness extended beyond "the collectivity" to include the state itself. Remember, France is in many ways, especially culturally, not a democracy but a republic; and Malraux was appointed to his high estate by his close friend, President de Gaulle. Sure, Malraux wanted barge-men to be able to see Rodin and listen to Bizet, but he also wanted to encourage *more* Rodins, *more* Bizets; wanted, as his biographer, Jean Lacouture, has written, painting and sculpture and architecture to augment the glory of France. "France may," Malraux declared in 1966, "in the next ten years, become, once again, the first cultural country in the world."

What possible relevance has Malraux, then, for the United States, the most thoroughly fulfilled of any democracy the world has ever known, where the only unrepresented abstraction is The People (it used, I suppose, to be Liberty) and where the only notion less popular than Art for Art's Sake is The Glory of the State? Even the definition of artistic elitism recently advanced by the American Assembly—"[elitism] in the best sense of the word, as a nation's best which can be shared by all"—is too metaphysical, too gaseous, too bare of pork fat, to find favor with voters, and still less with their elected representatives. In a democracy, one does not fund The Arts at all, whether for their own sake or for the glory of the state; one funds

Artists—the point being that not *arts* but *people* flourish. This argument has been effectively plumbed by Hilton Kramer, who, surveying a situation in which the NEA gives \$40,000 to Volunteer Lawyers for the Arts—an institution which helps needy artists with their legal problems—remarked, "I sometimes wonder if what is being called for may be something like a welfare program for the arts." Indeed, what made Harold Schonberg, music critic for Kramer's own paper, the *New York Times*, an admirer of Nancy Hanks and her NEA was the fact that they were involved in "the greatest outpouring of cultural money since the days of the WPA."

The treatment of the art world as a highly politicized constituency atomized into millions of individuals, rather than as a glorious and somewhat transcendent entity, excuses the Federal Government from making aesthetic distinctions. It was all very well for André Malraux—as a citizen of a country which has too long a tradition of cultural elitism to have made a cultural relativist even of a man who aspired to be the cultural Jules Ferry—to say that he understood his appointment as Minister of Culture as a mandate "to make accessible the major works of mankind in general and France in particular to the greatest possible audience for the cultural heritage and to encourage the creation of the works of art and of the minds that enrich it." He could make casual statements based upon a calibration of absolute aesthetic criteria ("major works of mankind") in the surety that most of his compatriots knew precisely what "major works" he had in mind, and why they qualify to be described as "major works." Similarly, Robert Brustein was free skillfully to defend himself against the attacks of the "populist" critics of his *New York Times* article by noting that "To charge me with being a 'snob' or a 'patrician' in my effort to prevent the meager monies reserved





for genuine art and learning from being consumed by the unqualified, is about as meaningful as for me to charge my critics . . . with discriminating against a disadvantaged minority group [artists and scholars]. These epithets belong to another realm, namely politics."

And Brustein is absolutely right. But Brustein is also a private citizen; he is not Joe Duffey or Livingston Biddle. When he speaks, his opinions are not "political"; when a Duffey or a Biddle speaks, his opinions are, inevitably. For there is obviously no such thing as a "nonpolitical" government agency. The government, and everybody attached to it, *is* politics. And when Biddle, in his capacity as Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts, exercises his powers of aesthetic discrimination by declaring A to be Good Art, worthy of federal aid, and B to be Bad Art, worthy of federal neglect, he is making a political judgment. Not, necessarily, political in the sense that extrinsic, supra-aesthetic considerations (pressures applied by black arts groups in Chicago, or by urban restorers in Savannah) led to his decision; but political in the sense that, having been made, that decision places the official stamp of approval of the U.S. Government upon a work of art, or some artistic enterprise.

BUT THERE IS supposed to be no such thing as "state art" in a democratic society. One of the foundation sills of the United States Constitution is the provision that the government shall recognize no religious group as preferable to—that is to say, more valid than—any other; and what are the arts but the repository of the religious instincts and loyalties which, in a secular age, have no other resting place? To tell a man today that the government has decided to subsidize larval opera singers but not aspiring country-and-western crooners is tantamount to telling him that the government is going to support the Episcopal Church and let the Southern Baptist Convention go hang.

And, speaking generally, these are indeed the sort of discriminations that ought to be off bounds to government. The ironic thing is that half the evils infecting the country

today are the result of the Federal Government's appalling readiness to dictate to the citizenry its personal and social values: whom we ought to be willing to live next to; in what regard we should hold our wives; the degree of politeness we ought personally to be willing to extend to the ideas of people whose fundamental precepts we consider immoral; even whether we ought or ought not to be willing suicidally to risk lung cancer by smoking cigarettes.

Yet what is Carter's talk of "populism" in the arts all about if not the unwillingness of the Administration to pass aesthetic judgment upon the artistic endeavors it declares itself willing to consider supporting? "I'm not an artist or a humanist," Senator Pell told Brustein, "but I'm really interested in the subject matter. . . . Frankly, I'm not crazy about abstract art, which is why you don't see any on my walls here. But I don't impose my views over those chic 86th Street critics. I do, however, have the obligation to provide access for everyone to the arts and humanities." Or listen to Joe Duffey, who, in his conversation with Brustein, used the word "excellence" frequently, yet refused to identify any "national criteria" for artistic excellence, and in fact expressed his suspicion of "all people who close quickly on a recognition of excellence." It would appear that the agents of the federal arts juggernaut have but one aesthetic tenet, and that one borrowed from the canons of the therapists rather than from those of the critics: "Creativity is good; *more* creativity is *better*." Joe Duffey should find some way diplomatically to tell Jimmy Carter that in the interests of equal time and the democratic muse he should devote half of those eight hours of Wagner to Dolly Parton or Crystal Gale.

That Carter has not figured this out for himself—or that his neglect of it is willful—ought to have blown the bottom out of the notion that the President's approach to the arts and humanities is "populist." It is not, obviously: it is *pluralist*. Nancy Hanks understood perfectly this pluralist concept of support for the arts. "This country is too big to have the best of everything," she said recently. "You've got to have a lot of 'bests.' If we go for just one, nobody will

stand for it.” (One recognizes here the Dodo’s theory of competition—“All have won and all must have prizes”—which was long ago applied to the American economy, and is apparently suited to the field of American criticism as well.) As for old Joe Duffey, with his winning way of stating things baldly: “We must work toward a society in which we are more tolerant and aware of a plurality of world views.” In government, truth-telling usually passes for incisiveness.

The Administration is operating under cover of the term “populist,” not in order to demonstrate that it is an avatar of pluralist criticism, but to disguise the fact that it is playing politics. Only the most socially inept (or the most stubbornly untalented) artists are starving in America; the art constituency here is not by and large composed of starving bohemians but of kaffe-klatschers graduated to judo or gravestone-rubbing, on the one hand, and high-octane superstars, on the other. Thus Carter is in cahoots with the Metropolitan Opera’s General Manager, Mr. Anthony Bliss, who, though he is one of the most aristocratic and snobbish men in America, has not been seen to wear a dinner jacket in the House in more than two years. To give money to the Met, Mr. Carter must pretend that its audience is chiefly composed of *citoyens* of Bethpage, Long Island arriving at Lincoln Center in Adidas T-shirts; while Bliss, to receive money, must cooperate in the pretense. Caught between the kaffee-klatsch consumers and the firm of Bliss, Papp, Hanks, Mondale, & Rockefeller, the President, like Nixon and Ford before him, has learned the political realities of the arts world, as Kramer puts it, and made certain that the arts constituency will not be lost to him and his newly acquired friends at the Democratic National Committee.

The arts lobby today is a sizable and powerful engine, adding cylinders every year. In 1977, for instance, the American Council for the Arts—whose chairman, Mr. Louis Harris, has criticized Carter for not appointing a sort of cultural czar for the business of establishing a full-time cultural affairs administration—was joined by the American Arts Alliance, a new consortium of more than four hundred members (among whom are the Metropolitan Opera, the New York Philharmonic, and the Guggenheim Museum) which has opened an office in Washington; the ACA itself has vastly expanded its operations of late.

WITH SUCH MUSCULAR bulls on the loose, butting and goring and stomping one another, as well as with the plethora of veal calves audacious enough to get underfoot in the scramble, how can the work of the NEA and the NEH be expected to amount to anything more than a gigantic political brawl? “[The Endowments] were once a small, \$7-million operation and everyone left them alone,” Michael Straight has opined. “Now they’re a \$200-million affair, and everyone wants in.” People involved with the arts are learning the ropes very quickly: already they have come up with their own Engine Charlie Wilson in the person of Theodore Bikel, an actor and president of Actors’ Equity, who was recently overheard to state: “Anything that benefits the arts benefits America.” As for Liv Biddle, we have seen how he has rediscovered politics as a fine art—indeed, as the art indispensable to the practice of every other art:

“Power is the voice that can come out of a new spirit of unity in the arts. Politics is the basic democratic manner in which that power is expressed. And the result of the two—the political process—benefits the arts and the artist.”

As the most distinguished of the artistic institutions are clearly capable of looking out for themselves when it comes time to milk the Federal Government of funds, we might perhaps let the matter rest there. It is possible, of course, that the biggest and brawniest of the Interests cannot always be counted upon to be the most qualified, the most deserving, the most serious, the most highbrow; but it is certain that there are very few people in the pay of Washington who are themselves qualified to judge between a good symphony and a bad one, an important piece of scholarship and a jerry-built ladder to the top floor of the Teachers’ Ed Department at a Midwestern cow college. It is a cultural phenomenon, strange but undisputed, that the arts in America waxed richer during the Administrations of Johnson, Nixon, and Ford than ever before—quite possibly because these men, knowing nothing at all about the arts and humanities and caring less, treated the Endowments simply as two more bureaucratic agencies, endowed, like all agencies, with the birthright of unflagging and unlimited growth.

NEVERTHELESS there is a moral issue—so beloved of all representative governments—at stake in the Great American Arts Debate. Criticism, and patronage, are at bottom moral enterprises. It is not a matter of content, as people like Anthony Comstock or the censors at the B’nai B’rith and the National Organization of Women understand it—a question of whether the subject of any given work is “moral” or “immoral”—but a matter of intention and of execution. The ability to see that a shoddy or dishonest piece of work is in fact shoddy or dishonest, and that a sublime piece of work is sublime, derives from the exercise of the highest moral faculties. It also testifies to intellectual honesty and courage sufficient to permit the admission that aesthetic values, like all moral values, are *not* relative, that in this as in every other realm ecumenicism has its limitations.

That the Federal Government is committed to the proposition that social values are absolute and that racist and sexist impulses (let us say) are incontrovertibly *bad*, yet resists the notion that aesthetic values are similarly ascertainable, suggests that for the government the arts, far from being the lodestone of every civilization, are actually secondary activities of secondary significance to civilized society. And that the unwillingness of the Federal Government to commit itself to firm standards of cultural achievement is justified by a proper understanding of the role of the modern democratic state is but the *pièce de résistance* in the case against federal funding of the arts and humanities. If democratic etiquette makes it unsuitable for Joe Duffey to define intellectual excellence, it makes it likewise unsuitable for him to squander the national bankroll in a series of gambles that are as likely as not to end up showering good money on stupid people and vulgar baubles. If the Endowments really have no official notion of what excellence is, they are wasting their time and the public’s money looking for it. □

VIETNAM

Dispatches

By Michael Herr

Knopf, 260 pp., \$8.95

A MORTAL S.I.W.

JOSEPH A. REHYANSKY

Correspondent Michael Herr was *Esquire's* man in Vietnam. He is talented, brave, intelligent. When he gets going he produces a tough, breezy prose that lights up narrative landscapes like a noonday sun. But he is also big on the dreary "American shame" number. "The Command . . . a blue-eyed, hero-faced general, geriatrics-emergency ambassador. . . . It seemed the least of the war's contradictions that to lose your . . . American shame you have to leave the Dial Soapers in Saigon . . . who spoke good-works and killed nobody themselves, and go out to the grungy men in the jungle who talked bloody murder and killed people all the time."

What was it about Vietnam? Why is such talent wasted in pointless, maudlin breast-beating? Maybe the problem wasn't Vietnam at all. Maybe the problem was Herr. And me. And all of us who grew up prepared to face acne and mortgage payments, or nuclear holocaust, but nothing in between. We didn't know how to deal with a trite, ugly, and personal war, a war which stank and hurt and bled before our eyes, like all the wars before it; a war where men often saw the very faces of the men they killed, the kind of war that was never supposed to happen again. We weren't ready for it, and many of us returned believing that nothing, but *nothing*, was worth it. Enter wincing, Michael Herr, stage left (where else?).

Michael Herr spent a year or so in Vietnam, accredited by *Esquire* (" . . . what the f--- for," asked a grunt at Khe Sanh; "you tell 'em what we're wearing?") to roam the war and write when and what he wanted. Free of the 24-hours-a-day obligations of the grunt at the line, and of the deadlines that plagued correspondents from other journals, Herr could "jump into jeeps . . . at nine or ten and drive a few

kilometers to where the fighting was, run around in it for a few hours, and come back early. We'd sit on the Continental terrace and wave each other in, get stoned early and stay up late . . ."

For fun he swilled booze, ate opium, and engaged his colleagues in savagely cynical battles of wit. Nor was his cynicism limited to gallows humor; in *Dispatches*, Herr is never happier than when he can demonstrate that every American in Vietnam at the rank of captain or higher was stupid or callous, or that every first lieutenant or lower was an innocent, unwilling participant, brutalized for no reason, to no end. But at bottom he is sentimental, a romantic. A weary grunt at a forward reconnaissance post told him a story "as pointed and resonant as any war story I ever heard: 'Patrol went up the mountain. One man came back. He died before he could tell us what happened.' It took me a year," admits Herr, "to understand it." I couldn't help wondering if the grunt "understood" it himself, in quite the cosmic sense Herr has in mind.

The shame of this book, the thing that's most infuriating, is that it could have been so good. Almost a masterpiece. Because Herr can be good. Just when you're annoyed by the self-consciousness and cynical sentimentality that are characteristic of *Dispatches*, you're ambushed by a passage of beauty and genuine feeling. I bit my lip and mind-tripped back eight years when I read: "A couple of rounds fired off in the dark a kilometer away and the Elephant would be there kneeling on my chest, sending me down into my boots for a breath."



And Herr is never better than when he is being, quite simply, kind and compassionate. Naturally, to qualify for his compassion you'd better be a grunt, preferably stupid and inarticulate, low-ranking, and not a lifer. But once you've made the team, Herr can damn near immortalize you. ". . . A Marine nearer the trench had been splattered badly across the legs and groin. I sort of took him into the trench with me. It was so crowded I couldn't help leaning on him a little, and he kept saying, 'You motherf---, you c---s---,' until someone told him that I wasn't a grunt, but a reporter. Then he started to say, very quietly, 'Be careful, Mister. Please be careful.' He'd been wounded before, and he knew how it would hurt in a few minutes." He's almost that good talking about the compassion of others, or quoting a grunt on the unsentimental fact of life at war: "'A dead buddy is some tough s---, but bringing your own ass out alive can sure help you to get over it.'"

BUT THERE ISN'T enough of that kind of stuff to counterbalance the endless pages of pointless, dreary intellectualizing, of pompous introspection, of left-wing agit-prop. There are places, too, where the prose is clumsy and the facts jumbled. When Herr describes a captain furiously "loading 16 clips" the reader is supposed to realize that his goal was not to load "16 clips" but to load as many "M-16 clips" as possible. George S. Patton III, a regimental commander in Vietnam, is identified as "George S. Patton Jr.," his father, who died in 1945. B-52s, the backbone of our Air Force now for a generation, are identified as "B-25s," the Tokyo raiders of 1942, which were obsolete before World War II ended.

Finally, there is the matter of Herr's motive for going to Vietnam, for staying there, and for writing *Dispatches*. Here he gives himself what grunts call an s.i.w.—self-inflicted wound. And it's mortal. Never mind that he admits it; admitting it doesn't make it any less repulsive. "A few extreme cases felt that the experience there had been a glorious one, while most of us felt that

Mr. Rehyansky is a lawyer whose articles and reviews have appeared in NR, Juris Doctor, and The Military Review.

it had been merely wonderful. . . . Vietnam was what we had instead of happy childhoods." With that statement, he goes beyond the pale.

Writers like Ernie Pyle went to war because they loved their country and the men they wrote about. Voyeurs like Michael Herr go because they're bored. □

THEOLOGY

Shroud

By Robert K. Wilcox

Macmillan, 180 pp., \$8.95

AGAIN THAT SHROUD

JEFFREY HART

Everything seems to be coming out of the closet these days; perhaps it should not be surprising that Jesus Christ should now do so too. Of course, a lot of people do profess belief in Christ (meaning a variety of things by that), but contemporary articulate culture is largely agnostic, and holds a "normal," five-senses view of reality. That view, however, has come under increasing pressure, and has been issued a crucial challenge by the remarkable phenomenon known as the Shroud of Turin.

This challenge is now public, out in the open, and cannot be ignored any longer. That, I take it, is one meaning of the publication, under the aegis of a major publisher, of this excellent book on the Shroud by a Miami journalist. That, I also take it, is the meaning of the fact that *Shroud* has begun to appear on some best-seller lists.

No wonder. Wilcox' investigation of the Shroud even permits him to give us a plausible, and to me convincing, account of just what happened in the tomb at the moment of the Resurrection, and how the image on the cloth was produced.

Wilcox writes lucidly and economically, he has interviewed specialists of all kinds and mastered a mountain of material on the Shroud, he is completely up to date, and he tells you all you could wish to know on the subject. He has devised an effective expository structure, alternating important events in the career of the Shroud with episodes in his own investigative odys-

sey. The latter has a Candide-like quality, as the remarkable truth dawns on Wilcox.

One way to describe the power of this book would be to observe that it devastates those nineteenth century materialist presuppositions that still linger in our culture, and moves us toward a twenty-first century perception of reality. As the experts he interviewed repeatedly pointed out to him, matter is not at all what it appears to be; in the post-Einsteinian world, matter and energy are aspects of one another, potentially convertible. Indeed matter fundamentally *is* energy. As the Soviet scientist Seymour Krilian discovered in 1939, the human body, as well as other objects, gives off distinctive kinds of radiation. Here is Wilcox' summary:

In living things the emanations appeared to be connected with health. When the aura looked dim and without much vibrance, the person being photographed was found to be either sick or on his or her way to becoming sick. . . . Unlike the "energy-body" of live things, the luminescence of metals was pure white, completely colorless. One of the most surprising finds, according to American researchers, was that when the Soviet scientists cut part of a subject away—for instance, part of a leaf—they would still get an aura from the section that was missing and in exactly the same shape as the missing part. In other words, the "energy-body" still showed where the material body had been.

One scientist speculated that the "aura" surrounding the great saints, and of course Jesus, was so powerful that it might have been visible to the unaided eye—hence the tradition of depicting them with haloes.

After a careful review of the evidence, Wilcox concludes that the Shroud of Turin is exactly what it seems to be: the burial garment of Christ. Furthermore—and I think he is correct—he argues that what we have here is a kind of photograph of Christ in the tomb at the moment of Resur-

rection. No one who reads this book is likely to conclude otherwise.

But by what process was this "photograph" made? Here is Wilcox' hypothesis about what happened during those 36 hours after Jesus' death:

The tomb, a rocky chamber carved out of a hillside, a stone rolled against the door, is dark and silent. Lying on a slab is a long, rectangular cocoon, the hills and valleys clearly being the contours of a human body. Jesus lay there, face up, a ribbon around the head and chin to keep the mouth closed, bags of spices packed along the sides of his dead body.

At some unknown moment in the dead of night, the air in the tomb became electric.

Minute vibrations at first, the sort that could be detected by sensitive twentieth century instruments; then they dramatically increase until they shake the ground and blow the boulder from the door.

A glow, faint at first, emanating from the shroud, suddenly intensifies until rays of light shoot through the threads, star-filled golden rays filling the tomb and pouring out the door.

For thirty seconds—no more—the blinding, pulsating movement continues.

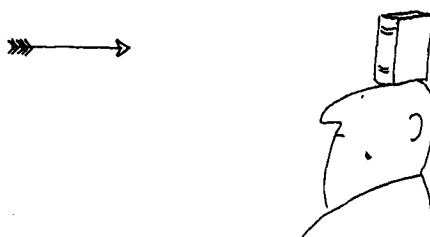
The source of the activity is the corpse, the body, somehow being revitalized, dematerialized, its mass being converted into energy, pure energy, which in the material world is radiant white light.

The body rises from the slab through the cloth, hovers for a moment in mid-air, then disappears.

The cocoon collapses. Darkness returns. Shouts of "Earthquake! Earthquake!" diminish as the two guards run for their lives. And in the air, the distinct odor of scorched linen.

One striking thing about the recent career of the Shroud is the way in which the most advanced scientific techniques, from pollen dating to computer photographic techniques first developed for use on photographs of Mars, have been confirming the authenticity of this ancient object. Scientists at the Air Force Academy believe they may even be able to identify and date the coins used to hold down the eyelids of the corpse.

For this and other reasons, it seems to me a safe bet that the perception of reality that will prevail in the twenty-first century will have more in common with that of the first century than with that of the nineteenth. □



The GIMLET EYE

A MAN IN THE SUBWAY

D. KEITH MANO

Description of place. Grand Central: uptown IRT station. 2 A.M. approx. Present: six or seven male persons, black and Hispanic; an injured, bewildered man (Caucasian); myself.

The man: circumstantial evidence. An eminent moralist once said, "Babes, if you're gonna fall down in New York, you better be very well dressed." And the man is: we're not tinkering with a derelict here. More than that: he is thoroughly beautiful. Looks like John Lindsay: the Lindsay of those first, optimistic mayoral campaign posters: WHEN EVERYONE ELSE IS TIRED, HE'S STILL FRESH. Something, however, has come down on the man. Namely, a wicked contusion across his right cheekbone: half clot-busy blood; half the blue-crimson of crushed, in-shock capillaries. It has a great and even more colorful future, this wound. Note also: four knuckles shredded to their white cartilage on each large, handsome hand: sixty hard seconds with a small-gauge potato grater would've done about as much damage. He will shake these out: it is, just coincidentally, a humorous, Italianate gesture, sort of: "Marone, enough pain already, eh?"

Reasonable conclusion. He has gone necklong, in the last minute or so, perhaps down a full and 18-edged stair flight: impact taken particularly by face, by shut fists.

Speculation: the man's state of mind. Crashed, totaled: on something more than liquor. This is new and fearful: the head has been screening bleak-wild footage. An unfamiliar trip (LSD, angel dust, who can say?) with no courier to make connections for him. The man will walk in over-emphatic, looping—yes, funny—strides: as if he could put space between himself and hallucination; as if the trite mechanics of movement alone could reassure. I sense that he has associated pain—staircases—falling with an interior world. The mouth is active: it grimaces: sign language rather than word: like maybe he was in a private, hideous nation where not English, but intensity, degrees of it, stood

for communication. Gorilla, chimp: they mouth at us so. He is abruptly animal, dumb: and afraid.

Assumption: the others, what they feel. Unease certainly. The track has been making advances: his dice-toss, compulsive lurch will flirt with it. Death by IRT local doesn't grab even your most diligent New York morb: it throws too much skin around. And authentic concern. Twice they proffer counsel: Sit down, Mister; Mister, you'll hurt yourself. But the responsibility devolves on me: we are white together. They have done a quick character work-up: clothing and demeanor set him apart, above. They can't, by canon, lay hands on him: it would hole the social weave. They are worldwise. The role-flip is stark, and anyhow motives can get misunderstood: they, East-Harlembound, couldn't shoulder him to Sutton Place. It'd have the structure of a mugging.

Reasons for help.

a) *Curiosity.* Who-is-that-and-how/why-did-he-get-this-way? This is of minimal weight.

b) *The Christian, prescriptive.* "A certain man went down from . . ." But in New York you'd never move from Point X to Point Y on the Samaritan principle, strictly construed. Bum, pan-handler, whore, addict, shopping-bag woman: and with inflation pennies don't have much clout. Which of us, seeing some wino asleep on a subway grate, doesn't consider him inanimate, nonhuman? Doesn't consider him. Still the parable can't be horsed around with: it is absolute. And this wasn't a wino. I felt substantial guilt: apparently not substantial enough.

Description (Cont.): final encounter. My, our train grinds steel in. Some narrow fault has opened between figment and figment: he will fall-run, all things are downhill, through it, through a door, sidelong, not much clearance in the thronged mind. He can't dare sit. His last struggle to erect posture, I think, has probably been more traumatic than australopithecus' first. Didge, dodge: birds, heavy-feathered, take off low at his floundering head: they just graze it.

Fiftieth Street: one stop: my chance is blown. Sidelong again, tough rushing yardage, through a closed off-tackle hole. As the train pulls north, I watch him bound, momentum is important, upstairs, face-on into NO EXIT ironwork. His nose snorts blood out. And gone.

Some reasons for not helping the man.

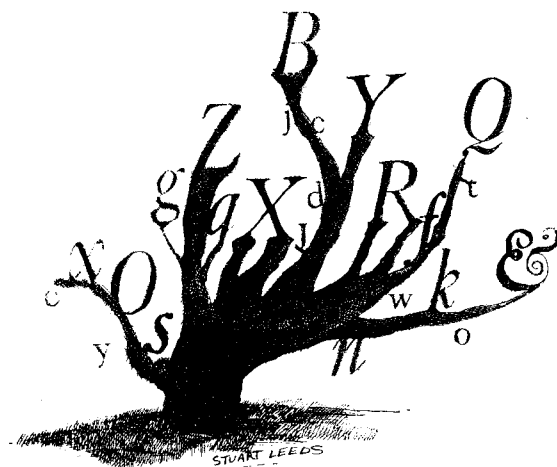
a) *Inconvenience.* Reject: it was late, but I had no momentous commitment elsewhere.

b) *His size.* True: there were tactical misgivings. He stood six-one, possibly over two hundred. Manhandling that would've been like pulling your Christmas tree down a long U-shaped corridor with sconces on the wall. Inept charity is worse than none.

c) *Lack of caring.* Reject again. I was anxious for him; remain so. Here I've taken a thousand words to cauterize the event.

d) *Respect.* The determining factor, I guess. This was not a man—we all felt it—to whom one could lightly say, "Excuse me, but you're not capable of walking." He didn't solicit attention: at that moment, with a big assist from his whacked-over mind, the occasion was still private. He had to work it out for himself. (Do I extrapolate from personal pride?) An offer of help would have made the scene public: objective, not subjective: humiliating.

For further study: a few questions. The conservative Christian must operate in a paradox. On average, I suppose, we are as charitable as any, still we honor self-reliance. "Forgive seventy times seven" will conflict—should conflict ad infinitum—with "go and sin no more." We do expect a fair return on capital invested: improvement, relief:



we externalize a healthful pride. After all, there is just so much cash, time, emotional revenue on hand. And, in the welfare state, theft of charity has become our one go-go small business. Yet we are meant to be fools, suckers, for Christ: to be taken in gladly. Yet can anyone afford that, when giving may have more worthwhile objects? Is worth a valid measurement? Can it be measured? For whose benefit do we give: ours, theirs, His? I leave that to you.

And, yes, it goes without saying, I should have helped the man. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

DISCIPLINE AND PUNISH: *The Birth of the Prison*, by Michel Foucault (Pantheon, 333 pp., \$10.95). Much in the manner of *Madness and Civilization* and *The Birth of the Clinic*, Foucault's earlier studies of institutions and their shifting policies and perspectives, this brilliant, if somewhat dense, new volume is more a meditation on the prison than a conventional history of it. Focusing primarily on the changes in the French penal system from the mid-eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth, Foucault elaborately and exhaustively explores not only the methods used in punishing the criminal but also the implications (philosophical, sociological, political) of those methods. He sets out to explain why assaults on the body—the use of torture, mutilation, and execution—were once considered the most effective means of dealing with the criminal, and why the “festival of punishment” began to die out by the end of the eighteenth century, giving way to a system of discipline or, more specifically, to imprisonment, intense scrutiny, and the suspension of rights. As he traces the attempt to redefine punishment and cope with the changes in society, and in what is and is not illegal, Foucault turns the law inside out and upside down to reveal its paradoxes, ambiguities, and inadequacies. In a lengthy, unexpected digression, he argues that other institutions, such as schools, hospitals, and military camps, developed disciplinary methods very closely akin to those adopted by prisons. He begins to see authoritarian systems, which examine and codify the individual and finally strip him of his uniqueness and power, at work in many areas of society, and he is horrified by such widespread oppression. While his views here and elsewhere throughout this highly stimulating book are not always convincing or completely coherent, and while we sometimes

detect in them a peculiar and annoying strain of anarchism, they do force us to think and argue. *Discipline and Punish*, though far more accessible than most of Foucault's previous work, is not an easy volume to deal with, but any serious reader willing to meet the challenge will be amply rewarded.

RONALD DE FEO

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE PANAMA CANAL, by Denison Kitchel (Arlington House, 240 pp., \$8.95). Avoiding the extremes of jingoism and national masochism that have marked the opposing factions in the Canal treaties controversy, former Goldwater campaign chief Denison Kitchel examines both pro- and anti-treaty arguments as he moves toward his own conclusion, which calls for a compromise arrangement that would affirm Panama's ultimate sovereignty over the Canal Zone and increase that nation's financial interests in the Canal, while retaining greater U.S. operational control and military presence than the treaties currently being debated call for. Sovereignty and legitimate questions of Panamanian national pride are the salient arguments in favor of the new treaties, Kitchel contends. Despite rhetorical shouts that the Canal Zone is as American as Alaska or Louisiana, Kitchel reminds us that it was never fully ceded to the United States: actual title always remained in Panama's hands. This complex arrangement is unique in modern times; its closest parallel, perhaps, is to a medieval fiefdom, with the United States, as a massive vassal state, pledging the Zone's loyalty to a minuscule tropical empire. While an arrangement promising the U.S. a free hand was probably essential for speedy construction of the isthmian channel, nevertheless the resentments produced by the denial of Panama's national aspirations, by American policies allowing 25 per cent of the Canal Zone to remain empty while the neighboring cities of Colón and Panama City are artificially hemmed in by Zone borders, and by the relatively small payments to Panama mandate changes in the existing arrangements, says Kitchel. However, while the vacating of U.S. sovereign prerogatives need not in itself result in less efficiency in the operation of the Canal, the fate of Panama's near-bankrupt economy does raise a disturbing issue. With 50 per cent of its budget going to pay the interest on its national debt, and with a balance-of-payments deficit that runs to the incredible total of nearly half of its GNP, Panama will require U.S. financial assistance in absorbing the Canal's current operating deficit. Kitchel skillfully unfolds a variety of competing arguments before finally presenting his own conclusions. Weakened only by its relatively light treatments of Panama's history previous to

Torrijos' accession and of the basic causes of the hostilities between Panama and the Zone, this insightful volume assumes increasing significance as it begins to appear that the Congress will work toward a solution similar to the one Kitchel proposes.

DAVID A. PIETRUSZA

55 DAYS, by Alan Dawson (Prentice-Hall, 400 pp., \$12.50). My first reaction to *55 Days* was irritation with the jarring confusion produced by staccato, filmlike clips of people and incidents whose only apparent relationship was that they had something to do with South Vietnam's last 55 days. However, halfway through (if you stick it out) the focus narrows, along with Saigon's defense perimeter, and the cacophonous events begin to resolve. And in its account of Saigon's last few days, the book creates a crystalline microcosm of the city's death-throes. I recommend the book for its wealth of gripping human vignettes. Still, its focusing on the last eight weeks of a years-long war distorts, makes the final catastrophe appear the fault of the players in the last scene rather than the logical outcome of a drama whose lineaments were sketched by the best and the brightest in the New Frontier. Dawson is rightly severe on the U.S. and South Vietnamese governments for procrastinating—“keeping their options open”—until the time for action was past. Thieu shelved a contingency plan for orderly withdrawal until, when the contingency finally arrived, it was too late to institute it. Ambassador Martin and Consuls General Francis (Dang) and Spear (Nha Trang) procrastinated, says Dawson, on the evacuation of Americans; Martin clung too long to unrealistic hopes of a negotiated settlement. No doubt. But this is unfair to Martin (whose deputy I was in Bangkok) and Francis and Spear (who served under me in Thailand) because it confuses the tip of the iceberg with the thing itself: the too-clever-by-half New Frontier concept of pressing the enemy just enough, and no more, to get him to negotiate, always “keeping our options open.” We consistently deluded ourselves with the fatuous notion that Hanoi *must* want an easy way out of the war (as we did) and that it would negotiate a soft peace (as we did—in Vietnam in 1973, as in Laos ten years earlier, failing in each case to insist on Hanoi's compliance). For years we had postponed decisive action, either to win or to get out. At the end we were simply following a 15-year-old scenario. The book exaggerates the historical roles of Martin, Francis and Spear, et al., who were not about to reverse the 15-year syndrome in the last 55-day convulsion. Thus *55 Days* provides excellent grist—little bread.

NORMAN B. HANNAH

**ACT NOW
TO GET A
GOOD
SPEAKER FOR
YOUR NEXT
MEETING**

How many times have you had to sit through a meeting that threatened to put you to sleep? The speaker may have been earnest, he may have had something important to say, but he simply didn't have the gift of saying it in a way that hit home. Result? Another dull, uninspired meeting that was a waste of time for everyone concerned.

Don't let that happen to you. Resolve now to get a really good speaker from Catherine Babcock. You'll almost feel the electricity when one of these men steps to the rostrum:

- William A. Rusher
- Russell Kirk
- M. Stanton Evans
- Jeffrey Hart
- F. Reid Buckley
- Ernest van den Haag
- D. Keith Mano
- Peter P. Witonski
- David Brudnoy
- J. Daniel Mahoney
- Cornelius J. Troost
- John Kiley
- F. Clifton White
- Robert K. Dornan
- Lev Navrozov
- Geoffrey Wagner

And it's all so easy. Just tell us when your meeting is scheduled and which of these noteworthy speakers you want. That's all it takes to get started. Write today to:

**CATHERINE
BABCOCK, INC.**
544 Southside Rd.
Virginia Beach,
Va. 23451
(804) 428-3301



Dark Horses

THERE IS NO SUBTLER, surer means of overturning the existing basis of society," said John Maynard Keynes, "than to debauch the currency."

Keynes was right, of course, and his followers in England and the United States have been hard at work for the past four decades to get the point across conclusively. The damage they have inflicted in the process is measured in *Economic Calculation under Inflation* (Liberty Press, 7440 North Shadeland, Indianapolis, Ind. 46250; \$8.95), a collection of learned commentaries by Solomon Fabricant, Robert F. Sprouse, William A. Paton, Paul Grady, William H. Fletcher, Benjamin Rogge, Allen Spivey, William Wroblewski, and several others.

The focus of this discussion is the question of indexing profit statements and other business data to reflect erosion of the dollar, a step preferred by many economists but not embraced with much enthusiasm by accountants. This somewhat technical-sounding issue opens up into a general examination of the way in which inflation disrupts the workings of the economy. As all the contributors agree, the efficient working of the pricing mechanism is indispensable to proper allocation of resources. Chronic inflation deforms this information system, devalues the dollar as a unit of historical measurement, warps the credit nexus, turns depreciation schedules topsy-turvy, and otherwise obscures the critical data that we need to make correct decisions.

Nowhere has the impact of inflation been more painful than in the housing market, where the median price of a home has soared to \$45,000, 9 per cent mortgages have become the norm, and median mortgage costs, compounding these ingredients, have risen 140 per cent in the span of a decade. How this process functions, and what it means to American consumers, is described in lively journalistic fashion by Martin Mayer in *The Builders* (W. W. Norton, \$15), the latest in Mayer's series of books

about the professions in our society.

While Mayer approaches his subject in ideologically neutral terms, the impact of this study is anything but neutral. He has some cutting things to say about the speculators and fast-buck artists, but in general concludes that private enterprise has been the dynamic, beneficial force in providing housing (and other construction) in our economy. The net effect of government action, as he describes it, has almost always been the reverse.

Mayer's demonstration of this point, indeed, is overwhelming. He not only details the terrible effects of inflation on the housing market, but also shows the negative impact of excessive unionization, zoning laws, environmentalism, land-use planning, urban renewal programs, public housing projects, new towns, Operation Breakthrough, and various other schemes by which our official planners, setting out to make the nation's housing situation better, have generally managed to make it appreciably worse.

ON ANOTHER FRONT, readers interested in economics should enjoy, and learn from, *The Competitive Economy* (General Learning Press, 250 James Street, Morristown, N.J. 07960; \$13.50), a wide-ranging study of industrial concentration put together by Professor Yale Brozen of the University of Chicago. This is a definitive anthology concerning concentration ratios, market shares, the effects of concentration on pricing, and the like. In addition to Brozen the contributors include Professors George Stigler, Harold Demsetz, Neil Jacoby, Paul MacAvoy, Richard Posner, Kenneth Elzinga, and two dozen other distinguished economists. The net conclusion: conventional thinking on this subject is mistaken, and we would be well advised to replace the mumbo-jumbo of anti-trust with an attack on government-sponsored barriers to entry, letting the market do its creative work from there on out.

—M. STANTON EVANS

deceiving) rhetoric has obscured this, but conservatives, including homosexual conservatives, should understand it. When I was a student I was often exasperated by the way college administrators, media pundits, and others always accepted the vocal left-wing activists as representative of my generation, and indulged their demands accordingly. It is usually the ideological predators who create and exploit simplified images of their own groups (they begin, of course, by denouncing "stereotypes") so that they can reap the benefits of official acceptance as spokesmen. Vernon Jordan is the official Black. Bella Abzug is the official Woman. Ralph Nader is the official Consumer. They actually speak for relatively few, but politicians and the press continue to regard them as Plato regarded the Forms: they are the pure essences, and no accumulation of mere facts can gainsay them.

Now the nation has already, in the matter of race, made one great exception to the principle of private discretion. In the light of our tragic history, this was understandable; if due attention had been paid to the proper distinctions, it would have been justified, and in any case the benefits have been so tremendous as to give us some consolation. But it has already seriously confused our political discourse and set a very bad precedent. Moreover it has been perverted in affirmative action programs, especially those imposed by public officials who have no responsibility to the people they command. The exception is fast becoming the rule.

If that happens, farewell to freedom. Or if that doesn't grab you, farewell to nuance. And in fact there is already a kind of quiet textbook purge under way, led by the kind of people who are forever deploring Joe McCarthy's assaults on the life of the mind: the new Bowdlerism is clearing the shelves of "racist and sexist stereotypes," supplanting them with "positive images" of the official Minorities.

Old Harry would have deplored all this. Or rather—since he taught Swift—he'd have laughed at it. As he knew well enough, there is no law that says a homosexual has to be a solemn prig. At least I don't think there is such a law; though by now there may be an HEW directive somewhere. □

Now Available:

The Servile State

By Hilaire Belloc

A perceptive warning, first published in 1913, of the consequences of statism and the effect of socialist doctrine on capitalist society. With an introduction by Robert Nisbet. "A landmark of political thought in this century"—Walter Lippmann. Hardcover \$8.00, Softcover \$2.00.

Popular Government

By Sir Henry Sumner Maine

A classic inquiry into the conditions necessary for the success of representative government, by the author of *Ancient Law*. This edition includes Maine's famous essay on "The Constitution of the United States." Hardcover \$7.95, Softcover \$1.95.

Arator

By John Taylor

The most popular and influential work by John Taylor of Caroline, foremost philosopher of the conservative Jeffersonians. This edition includes sixty-four essays, practical and political, on farming and the social order of an agricultural republic. Edited and with an introduction by M. E. Bradford. Hardcover \$9.00, Softcover \$3.00.

The Roots of Capitalism

By John Chamberlain

A provocative look at the intellectual forces and practical accomplishments that have created American capitalism. "A vastly persuasive case for capitalist theory and practice"—*Barron's*. Hardcover \$9.00, Paperback \$3.00.

The Wisdom of Adam Smith

Adam Smith may have been the first great economist, but he was no dismal scientist. He was instead a man of great philosophical and historical learning, and his literary style was widely admired. *The Wisdom of Adam Smith* brings together his most incisive and eloquent observations on subjects ranging from political and economic history to morals, philosophy, art, education, war and the American colonies. Compiled by British scriptwriter and playwright John Haggarty, edited and with an introduction by Benjamin A. Rogge. Hardcover \$7.95, Paperback \$1.95.

Essays On Individuality

Edited by Felix Morley

Twelve distinguished writers and educators examine the place of the individual in contemporary society. The contributors are John Dos Passos, Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr., Milton Friedman, Friedrich A. Hayek, Joseph Wood Krutch, James C. Malin, William M. McGovern, Felix Morley, Helmut Schoeck, Richard M. Weaver, Roger J. Williams and Conway Zirkle. Foreword by Arthur Kemp. Hardcover \$8.00.

LibertyPress LibertyClassics

We pay postage on prepaid orders.
To order these books, or for a copy
of our catalog, write:
LibertyPress/LibertyClassics
7440 North Shadeland, Dept. C5
Indianapolis, Indiana 46250

Classified Advertisements

Employment Opportunities

HOW TO EARN MONEY AS A CONSULTANT (including specimen contracts) \$23. Business Psychology Int'l, 890/15 National Press Bldg., Washington, D.C. 20045.

Situations Wanted

HIGH HONORS COLLEGE GRAD with strong background in writing, research, and standing up to liberal rhetoric (made it as grad speaker at liberal New England college), seeks employment with publishing house, social journal, magazine, etc. N.Y.-Phila. area. Write NR Box 3099.

WANTED IN FLORIDA, a career position leading to management in written and/or audio-visual communications/journalism and dissemination of scientific information; where my experience in writing and active interests, education, and continuing involvement in environmental sciences will contribute directly to the understanding of technical data to appropriate audiences. Write directly to: Fredrick Mauney, 217 Charlesworth Avenue, Spartanburg, S.C. 29301. Attractive résumé sent upon response.

YOUNG, CONSERVATIVE ATTORNEY-WRITER, has much political and writing experience—seeks writing position with conservative organization, politician, or periodical. Will relocate. Write NR Box 3088.

For Sale

HARPSICORDS. The finest instruments in the 18th century tradition by builder with 25 years of experience. For brochure write to: Eric Herz Harpsichords, Inc., 12 Howard Street, Cambridge, Mass. 02139. Telephone: 617-868-6772.

ORIGINAL WATERCOLOR OR POEM for donation. 3 (three) weeks delivery. Write: J. Marron, 2229 Broadway E., Seattle, Wash. 98102.

PRISTINE 1939 LaSALLE 4-door. Mint original interior. New black hand-rubbed lacquer. Fine mechanically. \$7000 delivered. Now in Minnesota. Write NR Box 3098.

TREMENDOUS SAVINGS on hi-fi stereos, typewriters, car stereos. We're faster, friendlier, and much cheaper. Free literature and information. THE WAREHOUSE, Dept. 11, Milltown, N.J. 08850.

NOTE: Responses to box numbers will be forwarded. Address: Classified Department, National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York, New York 10016

National Review Accepts . . .

classified advertisements for personal services, items wanted or for sale, jobs sought or available, houses or apartments for sale or rent, and miscellaneous subjects of a comparable nature. National Review does not accept political advertisements of any kind, or advertisements which are solicitations for funds. National Review reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason. Rates per insertion: 65¢ per word, minimum 10 words, plus \$1.50 for box number. Text accompanied by full payment must be received 25 days before publication date.

Literary

RARE AND O.P. BOOKS: catalogues on Asia and Africa, Literary Criticism, Latin America, Back Date Periodicals. Send 50¢ coin or stamps per catalogue. JTZ Inc., 2969 West 25th Street, Cleveland, Ohio 44113.

HAWKSHAW, THE BOOK DETECTIVE, locates any out-of-print books for you. Send for conservative list. Box 16521, Lubbock, Tex. 79490.

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKFINDER. Box 5842 NR, High Point, N.C. 27262. Send requests.

THE CHESTERTON REVIEW is an international journal of literature and politics. For subscriptions (\$6.00 per year) or a complimentary copy, write to: Chesterton Review, 1437 College Drive, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, S7N 0W6.

BOOK SEARCHING. ALL SUBJECTS. Large Stock: lists on request. Regent House, 108 N. Roselake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90026.

Real Estate

COLORADO CATTLE AND RECREATION ranch. 4,440 deeded acres, San Luis Valley. Elevation 8,500 feet. Magnificent view San Juan and Sangre De Cristo Mountains. Running creek for 5 miles. Numerous live springs. Elk and deer. National forest on three sides. Three modern homes, barns, sheds, corrals. Price: \$725,000. Good terms. Exclusive Agent: Burghart & Burghart, Realtors, 506 Exchange National Bank Building, Colorado Springs, Colo. 80903. Phone: 303-634-8882.

Vacation

SANIBEL ISLAND AND Fort Myers Beach, Florida. Rent luxurious two-bedroom condos on Gulf. Florida Enterprises, 1344 Willow Lane, Birmingham, Mich. 48009.

SAN FRANCISCO ON A BUDGET. Beresford Hotel, 635 Sutter Street, 94102; Charming, Convenient, Comfortable.

Personal

(NR extends maximum freedom in this column, but NR's maximum freedom may be another man's straitjacket. NR reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. —Pub.)

LONELY? Make new friends. Write NR2 Pen Pals, Box 415, Kansas City, Mo. 64141.

WANTED! Attractive lady, 25-35—nice sensitive fun, integrity—happiness her top priority. N.Y.-N.J. I'm conservative—25 years on firing line—highest credentials. Wide experience, adventure. Generally considered very interesting, intelligent. Dedicated and deep, but fun, romantic. Write NR Box 3091. Include picture.

RETIRED PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE interested in forming work-cooperative community write: Woodland, P.O. Box 7483, Alexandria, Va. 22307.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS gets cultured, single, widowed or divorced persons acquainted. Nationwide. Established 1970. Write Box AE, Swarthmore, Pa. 19081.

Miscellaneous

REAL WATER-GROUND CORN MEAL. The honest taste of the finest water-ground corn meal is now available by mail. It's great for corn bread, hush puppies, spoon bread, and golden crispy cornpones—all with old-fashioned goodness. Our meal is ground on centuries-old millstones turned by water power. We're located on Georgia's beautiful Ogeechee River and we've been making quality meal since 1872. Write today! A five-pound bag is only \$4.50, and postage is included. West of Mississippi add \$1.00. Ogeechee Mill, Mayfield, Ga. 31059.

HOW TO CHOOSE YOUR DOCTOR. Valuable guidelines, advice, and questions. \$2.00. Chez Norman Press, 7B Glenavy Ave., Toronto, Canada M4P 2T5.

RECORDS—TAPES! Discounts to 73%; all labels; no purchase obligations; newsletter; discount dividend certificates; 100% guarantees. Free details. Discount Music Club, 650 Main St., Dept. 36-0378, New Rochelle, N.Y. 10801.

CREME MAGNIFIQUE for beauty, younger skin, wrinkles, healing. Women and men have written. 2 oz. \$5.95. Hairgown Kit, \$20.00. International Products, Inc., Box 38-0637, Miami, Fla. 33138.

BUMPER STICKER Printing Device. Cheap. Simple. Portable. Free Details. Bumper, P.O. Box 22791(JM), Tampa, Fla. 33622.

HOW TO START that diesel engine in cold weather. Information: Diesel Start, P.O. Box 2079, Michigan City, Ind. 46360.

RECORD JACKETS. Replace old, torn, LP jackets with new, pure white cardboard jackets, 35¢ each. Plastic-lined inner sleeves, 15¢ each. Postage \$1.25. Other sizes available. 78 sleeves and opera boxes, all sizes. Free catalogue. CABCO, NR77, Box 8212, Columbus, Ohio 43201.

MAIL ORDER PUBLISHER/BOOKSELLER seeks manuscripts of "How To" books. Failed books considered. Contact: C-W Marketing, P.O. Box 124, Costa Mesa, Calif. 92627.

WOULD LIKE TO donate my copies of NR to a library. Approximately 1970-present: Tom Radlinsky, 158 Manatee Avenue, Lawrenceville, N.J. 08648.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

ROLAND N. MCKEAN:

[Government and] the Consumer

As a consumer I do indeed feel put upon regarding the quality of my goods—but it's not so much because my hot dogs are thirty percent chicken and bread crumbs; it's much more because my public goods often seem to be sixty percent baloney.

READER'S SERVICE

HOW WELL WE SERVE YOU depends largely on whether you include your address label when you write us about your subscription. Please attach it to all correspondence. When moving, please give us 5 weeks notice, and paste your old address label here. Print new address below, including your ZIP code.

You may use this form to subscribe, renew, change your address—or for any other correspondence you may have with us. If you attach your mailing label at right, you will have helped us be both speedy and accurate.

REMEMBER

that Magazine and BULLETIN are on separate lists! If you are a subscriber to both, you must tell us to change both lists.

Address all inquiries or subscriptions to: National Review, Readers' Service, 150 E. 35th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10016

NAME

(Please print)

ADDRESS

(New address—if moving)

CITY

STATE

ZIP

☐ PLEASE CHANGE MY BULLETIN ADDRESS ALSO ☐ I wish to subscribe to NATIONAL REVIEW for one year at the regular \$19.00 rate. Please enter my ☐ new ☐ renewal subscription: ☐ payment enclosed ☐ bill me later.

BROOKHISER

(Continued from page 334)

"peoples" to mean "peoples"; the Communists, however, have interpreted "peoples" to mean "governments," and claim, as a consequence, the right to a kind of intellectual Fugitive Slave Law, whereby any stray thoughts their subjects may have will be denied succor from the West. The West, primarily interested in other things—wheat deals, arms talks—has not been inclined to disagree.

RFE/RL go on. In 22 languages, to six countries, they continue to broadcast books that millions would not otherwise know, news they would not otherwise hear: *The Gulag Archipelago*, *Will the Soviet Union Survive until 1984?*; violations of Helsinki, details of the Rumanian earthquake. Communists continue to denounce it; liberals, to wonder whether it perhaps goes too far.

Anything can be better than nothing; the smallest chink may let in fresh air. Navrozov, when he spoke to me, even remembered taking solace, at the height of Stalinism, from a British Commu-

How to Argue and Win!



Here is a clear simply written basic guide to logical thinking, showing how to spot the fallacies, the prejudices and emotionalism, the inappropriate analogies, etc., in the other fellow's argument and how to watch for and avoid the irrational in your own judgments. The author makes plain not only *how* but also *why* people resist facing the truth.

A tool for clear thinking as well as convincing others. **ORDER NOW:**

THE ART OF ARGUMENT, by Giles St. Aubyn \$6.95 plus 75¢ handling 10-day Money-Back Guar.

EMERSON BOOKS, Inc., Dept. 485-D
Buchanan, N.Y. 10511

nist newspaper's account of a woman who had committed suicide because her family of four was forced to live in a two-room apartment—imagine, he thought, a family of only four, with two whole rooms! . . .

But one can of course do better than this; and that is exactly what the rulers of Eastern Europe and Russia are afraid of.

"One of the most fervent wishes of the KGB is to destroy Radio Liberty."

—Anatoly Kuznetsov



J. Howard Pew Fine Arts Center
Site of 1978 Institute

HANS F. SENNHOLZ

Internationally-known free market economist, author and lecturer
Professor, Grove City College

R. EMMETT TYRRELL, JR.

Editor-in Chief,
The American Spectator

JOHN C. MOORHOUSE

Labor economist, author,
Wake Forest University

RUSSELL KIRK

Prolific writer,
Editor, *The University Bookman*
Visiting Professor, Hillsdale College

ROBERT M. BLEIBERG

Editor, *Barron's National Business & Financial Weekly*

L. JOHN VAN TIL

Historian, commentator on public policy,
Professor, Grove City College

REED LARSON

President, National Right to Work
Legal Defense Foundation

JOHN A. SPARKS

Lawyer, economist,
Professor, Grove City College

CHARLES S. MACKENZIE

Scholar, theologian,
President, Grove City College

Mail Coupon To:
Dr. John A. Sparks, Director
Institute on Public Policy
and Private Enterprise
Grove City College
Grove City, PA 16127
(412)458-6600

Please send brochure, application, & scholarship information about Institute on Public Policy and Private Enterprise.

NR

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State Zip _____

June will be a perfect time to hear and question recognized defenders of ordered liberty and free markets. Last year, men and women from 17 states with varied occupational backgrounds attended the stimulating six-day Institute. Send coupon for brochure, application and scholarship information today.

What Can We Answer?

New York, Feb. 24—At one end of the world, the People's Republic of China is worried over the activities of its client state, Cambodia. Worried because Cambodia's leader Pol Pot has transformed Cambodia into a vast Buchenwald for the purpose of torturing and killing Cambodians by the hundreds of thousands? Troubled because Pol Pot has depopulated Phnom Penh, attempted to extirpate every trace of culture, punished literacy with death or imprisonment? No. Well after Pol Pot had established himself as the most vicious tyrant since Hitler and Stalin, he was being feted in Peking at a banquet to which the Americans were not invited because we have shamefully declined to show the back of our hand to free China in Taiwan. No, China is upset because the Cambodians are harassing the North Vietnamese, and this is destabilizing.

At the other end of the world the newest client state of superpower Communism is Ethiopia, and there are no signs at all that the Soviet Union is having any trouble in telling Ethiopia what to do. To begin with, the Soviet Union has firmly recognized the primacy of Colonel Mengistu. The Colonel commended himself to the Communists by the coup through which he came to power. Last April the revolutionary magazine *Afrique-Asie* ran a long interview with Fidel Castro in which Castro fairly glowed about Mengistu. Castro described the coup—in which Mengistu killed six members of the Dergue with his own hands—as Africa's first "truly Marxist revolution" and said that Cuba would render all assistance to it.

Mengistu's regime was described by Siad Barre of Somalia to *Newsweek's* Arnaud de Borchgrave. Barre has reason to encourage hostility to Ethiopia, but his reports are not, in de Borchgrave's opinion, exaggerated. Two returning congressmen told Barre that they had seen "hundreds of dead bodies in the streets of Addis Ababa, so many that the authorities were unable to remove them." "They know," Barre went on, "what's happening. All officers with Western training—executed. All politicians, except those who managed to escape—killed. All professors

—executed. Workers and students protesting the Cuban presence—killed. Religious people—executed."

The worldwide Left apparatus is meanwhile ready to punish any country that protests Ethiopia's military blitzkrieg. The intimidation is almost totally effective. Not one African nation has dared invoke the charter of the Organization of African Unity against big-power intervention on the continent. TASS speaks of the iniquitous Somalia with its "most odious and reactionary regime" and its alliance with "Western neo-colonialist circles." Puppets rush to carry the line. Madagascar's President Ratsiraka says, "These imperialist machinations are aimed at undermining the Ethiopian revolution and are intended to strengthen the reactionary forces on the continent as a whole." Over Radio Moscow, in English, Vladislav Chernukha launched a Communist fiction, namely that the NATO alliance had decided at a recent meeting of the five ambassadors of the major Western powers last week to give Somalia secret aid from the NATO arsenal. "The idea is to try to set up another neo-colonialist stronghold in Africa to fight against progressive regimes and national liberation movements. Interference of the NATO powers and also China spells the danger that the conflict between Somalia and Ethiopia may become internationalized. And this is already a threat to peace not only in Africa but also in the rest of the world."

"You'd like to believe that you are still paralyzed by the Vietnam trauma which you are consciously or unconsciously using as a pretext to drift into the kind of isolationism we saw before World War II," Barre ended his interview. "At the present rate you will wake up after all major Soviet objectives have been achieved, including the neutralization of your European allies. . . . You are—as other statesmen in the area and I agree—the only power that can resist Soviet imperialism and foil its plans. Your friends and allies still look to you but are asking more and more questions about your credibility."

What can we answer? □

On The Right

**ANDERSON
Vs. NIXON
ET AL.**

New York, Feb. 22—Here's one a lot of us missed. An important ruling by a heavy-

weight judge of the District Court for the District of Columbia in a fascinating Watergate-related case.

I write of *Jack Anderson v.* [take a long breath] *Richard Nixon, Henry Kissinger, Richard Helms, John Mitchell, H. R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman, Charles Colson, Richard Kleindienst, Patrick Gray, John Dean, Robert Mardian, Jeb Magruder, Herbert Kalmbach, Egil Krogh, David Young, Anthony Ulasewicz, Howard Hunt, Gordon Liddy, and James McCord.* The only one missing from that line-up is Neil Armstrong, but perhaps Jack Anderson ran out of breath.

The suit was filed in September 1976. It alleges that the defendants conspired to harass Mr. Anderson because of his writings. Anderson complains that his ability to report the news was prejudiced by this conspiracy in that many of his sources dried up. Anderson also alleges that the defendants were guilty of overt acts which were "intentionally and fraudulently concealed."

NOW THIS LAST point is of considerable procedural importance. The statute of limitations protects the defendants if they have not been sued three years after their alleged tort. September 1976 minus three years equals September 1973. But all of the overt acts allegedly undertaken were undertaken before 1973, and therefore Jack Anderson needs to prove fraudulent concealment in order to set aside the statute of limitations.

Richard Nixon et al. replied, as is conventional in civil actions, by demanding to depose the plaintiff. On doing so, they asked him who were the sources of his information about this conspiracy. Specifically, who advised him that he was the subject of illegal wiretapping and unlawful entries. Anderson testified that it was someone on Haldeman's staff but, pleading the privileges of the First Amendment, declined to say who. He further declined, on the same grounds, to say who it was that

told him he had been subjected to illegal electronic surveillance after his famous exposure of the National Security Council meeting at which Nixon instructed the government to "tilt" toward Pakistan. "I made an agreement not to," said Jack Anderson, "and I will keep that agreement." For using such language as this, one notes in passing—and for using it to protect the national interest, rather than to forward one's commercial interest—people like Richard Helms have been publicly savaged.

THE DEFENDANTS replied in two parts. The first, that if the statutory protection was to be waived, the onus fell on the plaintiff to prove the "fraudulent concealment." To prove it required more than merely to assert that an unnamed, un-cross-examined third party told him so.

But most importantly, on the merits, the defense raised the question whether surveillance of the plaintiff, if indeed there had been such, was for the purpose of inhibiting his rights as a journalist or for the purpose of investigating a security leak. The motives, in a civil action of this nature, are of course crucial.

In a carefully written opinion, Judge Gerhard A. Gesell ruled that Jack Anderson can't have it both ways. The newsman's privilege, he reminded us, is a qualified privilege. Quoting *Branzburg v. Hayes*, the judge reminds us that on the one hand "official harassment of the press undertaken not for the purpose of law enforcement but to disrupt a reporter's relationship with his news sources" is forbidden. On the other hand, where "the interests of justice" require that relevant information be disclosed, it must be disclosed.

Now, nobody is using any muscle to get at Anderson's sources. "Plaintiff's pledge of confidentiality would have remained unchallenged had he not invoked the aid of the Court seeking compensatory and punitive damages based on his claim of conspiracy. Plaintiff is attempting to use the First Amendment simultaneously as a sword and a shield. . . . He believes he was wronged by a conspiracy that sought to retaliate against his sources and to undermine his reliability and professional standing before the public because what he said was unpopular with the conspirators. But when the accused seek to defend by attempting to discover who his sources were, so that they might find out what the sources knew, their version of what they told him, and how they were hurt, plaintiff says this is off limits. . . . Plaintiff is not a bystander in the process but a principal. He cannot ask for justice and deny it to those he accuses."

The judge then forecast, lest there

should be any ambiguity, what he will do if Jack Anderson persists in declining to name his informants. He will throw the case out of court.

It is hard to quarrel with Judge Gesell's reasoning, which doesn't mean Anderson won't quarrel with it. Perhaps he will reveal that the judiciary has been instructed to tilt against Anderson. □

GIFT TO THE KGB

New York, Feb. 27—
When last April the
Department of Justice
brought in an indictment

against former FBI agent John Kearney, for using allegedly illegal tactics in attempting during the early Seventies to penetrate and frustrate the terrorist Weathermen, a few observers became convinced that we had entered the lunatic phase of our campaign to purify ourselves, and a committee was born. It is called the Citizens' Legal Defense Fund for the FBI, its address is Suite 808, 95 Madison Avenue, New York, and co-chairmen are Clare Boothe Luce, former Secretary of the Treasury William Simon, and former Senator James L. Buckley.

The initial resolution of the committee was to raise funds to give John Kearney a proper defense, and the result was electric. Contributions came in even from the ranks of the best-known recent purifiers. Leon Jaworski, for instance, the pointman in the Watergate prosecutions. Enough money to hire Edward Bennett Williams, who had expressed sympathy for the victimization of Kearney. So the defense is ready, when the Attorney General strikes.

But the committee did not then go out of business. It is inundated with requests for help from other former agents of the FBI who are being harassed by civil suits. And last week, William Simon sent out an appeal for funds, enclosing a document which everyone concerned with the mad demobilization of our internal security apparatus should read—and can do so by asking the committee for a copy. It is a very long letter, from an FBI agent whose identity is protected. It tells us things we ought to know about domestic security, things that harmonize with the worrisome analysis recently given by *Time* and *Newsweek* to the related problem of the CIA and external security.

William Simon reminds us that the *New York Times* star foreign correspondent, C. L. Sulzberger, wrote: "It is believed Moscow has found a way to paralyze the U.S. by striking at its principal security services. As a consequence of such operations (attributed in part to the KGB's Department of Disinformation), the effectiveness of the CIA and FBI is held to

be extremely anemic by apparently internal U.S. political arguments."

Listen now to a paragraph from the lead story in *Time* magazine on CIA Director Stansfield Turner: "A Soviet KGB agent told a *Time* correspondent in Cairo last week: 'Of all the operations that the Soviet Union and the U.S. have conducted against each other, none has benefitted the KGB as much as the campaign in the U.S. to discredit the CIA. . . . It's the kind of gift all espionage men dream about. Today our boys have it a lot easier, and we didn't have to lift a finger. You did all our work for us.'"

The FBI agent who wrote to the Citizens' Legal Defense Fund makes plain that in any comprehensive analysis there is little difference between the CIA and the FBI. The same forces are aligned against them.

THE SUCCESS of the see-no-evil, hear-no-evil people has been astonishing. The agent writes: "A reduction in FBI investigation of domestic subversion has resulted from the imposition of . . . guidelines and recent policy changes. FBI Director Clarence Kelley revealed in September 1976 that its internal security investigations had then dropped from 21,414 in mid-1973, to only 626 (78 organizations and 548 individuals)—an amazing 97 per cent cut."

The FBI, according to a report by the General Accounting Office, has only 143 special agents assigned to domestic security work, compared to 788 in 1975. The force in use in 1963, lest the complacent cheer, was insufficient to protect the life of John F. Kennedy in Dallas. The agent reminds us that in recent testimony before a Senate subcommittee, the chief of the Secret Service admitted that there are now "cities in the United States which the President is advised not to visit. The reason: the erosion of police intelligence as a result of leakages to the press and the laws on disclosure . . . has reached the point at which the actions of radical demonstrators and potential terrorists could not be predicted."

It is a symbol of our time that the Civil Service Commission, the agent reports, has dropped the formerly conventional question put to applicants for federal employment: "Are you, or have you ever been, a member of the Communist Party?" Presumably we are not supposed to care. If it can be said that innocent-minded fellow-travelers were once victims of thoughtless government pressure, the contemporary victims today, the Citizens' Legal Defense Fund points out, are men and women who have worked in our security forces. □

(Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.)

DEFINITIONS

A. A translator of the New Testament (1870-1944)	30 220 10 26 122 64 38	N. Not meritorious	11 154 39 67 83 188 59 77
B. Automobile first produced in 1897 by twin brothers	56 19 171 50 70 74 85 92 180 187 190 150 197 199	O. Austria's chancellor, 1956-1961	8 22 36 51
C. City in the Netherlands, capital of province of same name	63 76 12 54 95 1 181	P. A group of radio or television stations	37 43 78 192 175 101 123
D. Statute that requires dog lovers to keep their pets under control	110 2 128 103 96 46 162 73	Q. This automobile was part of a song title	49 41 170 166 184 203 68 215 182 145
E. Island group in Norwegian Sea	131 65 137 31 86 107 143	R. Seven brothers who built auto bodies (surname)	58 69 15 105 124 139
F. The first year of the liberals' favorite century	148 218 98 87	S. Any of various sea creatures with numerous simple conical teeth	72 20 7 27 35 40 136 140 144 147 178 202
G. What an editorial writer in a penthouse would have	42 179 167 99	T. An expensive mount	81 60 109 16 189 79 161 194 71
H. Brothers, first associated with Elwood G. Haynes, formed own auto mfg. co. in 1900 (surname)	91 97 198 183 129 213 138 13	U. The Old Testament God	89 47 207 163 115 158
I. A recess in a wall	3 14 23 28 33	V. An important part of an automobile	201 186 168 191 114 125 141 102 204 34
J. What Henry VII might have driven when he visited Napoleon III	104 52 156 160 165 176 29 149 193 216	W. A canine from Greenland and Labrador	100 61 152 45 88 208 18 211 117
K. Expensive paraphernalia for a car	121 200 134 113 155 214 173 32	X. The highest or culminating point	116 219 185 133 80 118 209 17
L. One of the brakes in a car	142 66 130 55 206 135 108 174 5	Y. A kind of candy	177 164 6 159 21 106
M. An important part of an automobile	172 4 62 75 90 93 111 120 146 153 57 169	Z. What a world without automobiles would be to some	94 195 157 126 82 205 119
		a. Wrote poetry	212 24 53 44 127 9
		b. Japan's emperor, 1912-1926	151 25 112 196 48 210 217 84 132

DIRECTIONS

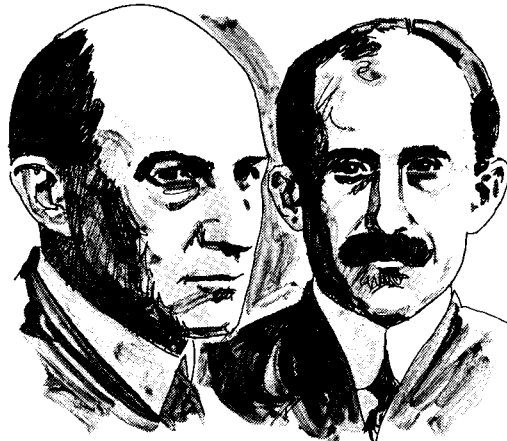
The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 362 for Solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

			1 C	2 D	3 I	4 M	5 L		6 Y	7 S	8 O	9 a		10 A	11 N	12 C	13 H	14 I	15 R
16 T	17 X	18 W		19 B	20 S		21 Y	22 O	23 I	24 a		25 b	26 A		27 S	28 I	29 J		30 A
31 E	32 K	33 I		34 V	35 S	36 O	37 P		38 A	39 N	40 S	41 Q	42 G	43 P		44 a	45 H	46 D	47 U
48 b	49 Q	50 B		51 O	52 J	53 a	54 C	55 L	56 B		57 M	58 R		59 N	60 T	61 W		62 M	63 C
64 A	65 E	66 L	67 N	68 Q	69 R	70 B	71 T		72 S	73 D	74 B	75 M	76 C	77 N		78 P	79 T		80 X
81 T	82 Z	83 N	84 b	85 B		86 E	87 F	88 W	89 U	90 M		91 H	92 B		93 M	94 Z	95 C	96 D	
97 H	98 F	99 G	100 W	101 P		102 V	103 D		104 J	105 P	106 Y		107 E	108 L	109 T	110 D	111 M	112 b	113 K
	114 V	115 U	116 X	117 W		118 X	119 Z		120 M	121 K	122 A	123 P	124 R	125 V	126 Z	127 a	128 D	129 H	130 L
	131 E	132 b	133 X	134 K	135 L	136 S		137 E	138 H	139 R		140 G	141 V	142 L	143 E		144 S	145 Q	
146 M	147 S	148 F	149 J		150 B	151 b		152 W	153 M	154 N	155 K	156 J	157 Z	158 U		159 Y	160 J	161 T	
162 D		163 U	164 Y	165 J	166 Q	167 G		168 V	169 M	170 Q		171 B	172 M		173 K		174 L	175 P	176 J
177 Y		178 S	179 G	180 B	181 C	182 Q	183 H		184 Q	185 X	186 V	187 B		188 N	189 T	190 B	191 V		192 P
193 J	194 T		195 Z	196 b	197 B		198 H	199 B	200 K	201 V	202 S		203 Q	204 V		205 Z		206 L	207 U
208 W	209 X		210 b	211 W	212 a	213 H	214 K		215 Q	216 J		217 b	218 F	219 X	220 A				

Wright...to now

This year, the nation celebrates the 75th anniversary of powered flight by the Wright Brothers at Kitty Hawk, N.C., on December 17, 1903.



Wilbur and Orville Wright

In the space of a single lifetime—more than 8 million Americans are 75 or older—remarkable progress has been made in air transportation.

Each day in 1978, some 700,000 passengers will use the nation's airlines for business or pleasure travel. They will account for 80% of all the miles traveled on intercity public transportation and 93% of travel abroad.

The U.S. scheduled airlines in 1977:

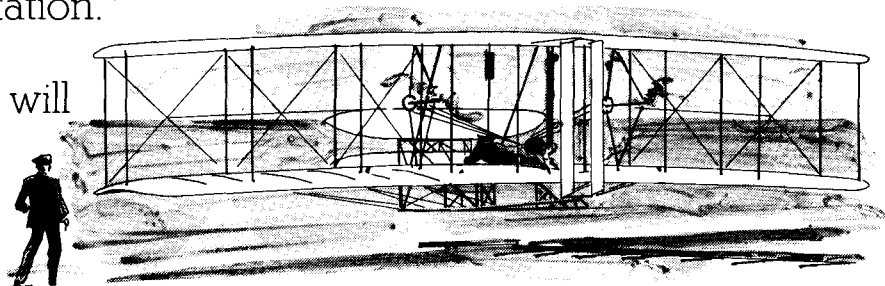
—Carried 240 million passengers.

—Moved 6.4 billion ton miles of freight and mail, including 9 out of every 10 first-class letters between cities.

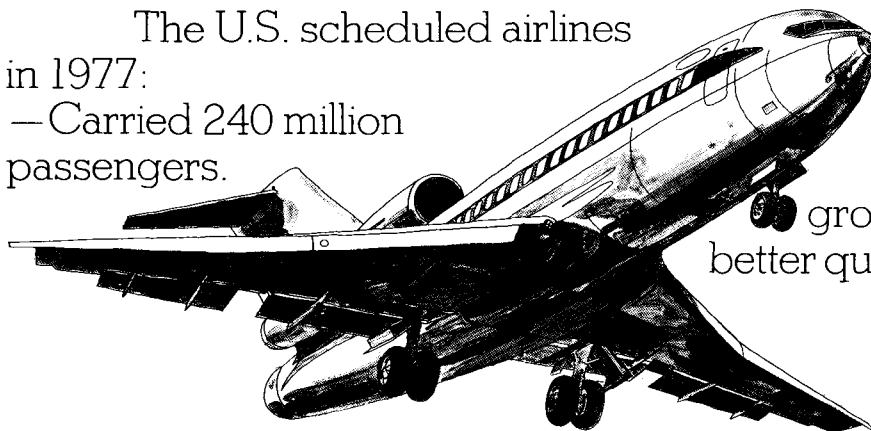
—Used *less* fuel than in 1973, when the fuel crisis began, while carrying 38 million

more passengers.

From that takeoff at Kitty



Hawk—the 12-second flight was about the length of a modern day jet—air transportation has become a vital part of our nation's life. It has contributed to the country's growth, to its defense, and to a better quality of life for all its citizens.



THE AIRLINES OF AMERICA

Public Transportation at its Best

Alaska • Allegheny • Aloha • American • Braniff • Continental • Delta • Eastern • Flying Tigers • Frontier • Hawaiian • Hughes Airwest • National • North Central • Northwest • Ozark • Pan Am • Piedmont • Southern • Texas International • TWA • United Western • Wien Air Alaska. • Associate members, Air Canada • CP Air.

Air Transport Association of America, 1709 New York Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20006

To give you an idea of diamond values, the earrings shown are available for about \$1100. Your jeweler can show you other diamond jewelry starting at about \$200. De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd.



I told her we were going "out on the town" for her birthday,
and she said she had nothing to wear.

A diamond is forever.